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RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN BA KELALAN, SARAWAK, MALAYSIA: INTERACTION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY

by

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JAYL LANGUB

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN BA KELALAN, SARAWAK, MALAYSIA: INTERACTION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY submitted by JAYL LANGUB in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Community Development.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a description of two social systems involved in the development of a rural community in Sarawak, Malaysia. On the one hand, it describes the structure, organization, operation, coordination, decision-making process, and the general philosophy of the Malaysian Development Bureaucracy towards the development of rural communities. On the other, it describes the social organization, economic activities, the management of resources and manpower, and attitude of the rural people of Ba Kelalan, Sarawak, towards change and development.

The thesis emphasizes several important sociological factors which, in the opinion of the writer, have enhanced development in the community of Ba Kelalan. These factors include the effective system of leadership in the community, the cooperation of the people, their receptiveness towards new ideas, and their spirit of self-reliance.

Through a mini-case study of six government-sponsored development projects, the thesis analyzes the response and participation of the people towards these development projects. In that analysis, the thesis indicates that people respond and participate actively in development projects which fulfill the needs of the people. However, where the development projects do not fulfill the needs of the people, the response and participation of the people do not appear to be active.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The most common problem that development agencies often face is that of reaching the people successfully with their development programs. For instance, in Malaysia, although the government allocates the largest share[1] of the national development fund to the agricultural and rural development sector, its rural development program has had little impact on the standard of living and productivity of rural farmers.

Nature of the Problem

In their attempts to develop rural communities, development agencies often ignore the fact that certain characteristics of rural communities are part of their development dynamics. These characteristics include, amongst others, the norms, values, attitudes, innovativeness, leadership patterns, integration, solidarity, historical experiences, and ecological setting of the community. Because development agencies fail to take cognizance of these characteristics of rural communities, the utmost potential of such communities is not, therefore, utilized to the fullest in the development process.

---

[1] Allocation to the agricultural and rural development sector in the last three Malaysia Plans was: the 2nd Malaysia Plan (1971-1975), 25.5 percent of the national development fund; the 3rd Malaysia Plan (1976-1980), 20.8 percent; and the 4th Malaysia Plan (1981-1985), 21.2 percent. Source: Malaysian Information Service Booklet, Ringkasan Rancangan Malaysia Keempat, 1981-1985, p. 17.

The importance of these characteristics is that they are part of what shapes the community and its development activities. Development activities involve interaction between two or more social systems as well as the various constituents of these social systems. Indeed, the community, as a social system, is "composed of social interactions and the cultural factors which structure these interactions" (Loomis and Beegle, 1975:2) or in Sorokin's (1947:40) view, is a "meaningful interaction of two or more human individuals by which one party tangibly influences the overt actions or state of mind of the other."

Community development or development of rural communities in a modern state has been defined as "the process by which the efforts of the people are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social, cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress" (U.N., 1963:4).

However, in order to realize the success of development activities in rural communities, two sets of problems need to be resolved. The first problem involves, on the part of the government agency, the identification of needs and problems of rural communities and the planning of appropriate solutions to these problems. Furthermore, the problem also involves the integration of community characteristics into the development process, and getting people to realize that a better way of life is possible through the acceptance of new ideas and techniques. Second, in its desire to work towards its own development, the rural community is confronted with the problem of perceiving the utility of what is being offered to the people by the development agency.

This study intends to examine these problems in the Malaysian rural development program. It is a case study of one rural community, the community of Ba Kelalan, Sarawak, Malaysia.

Purpose of the Study

The broad purpose of this study is to explore and describe sociological attributes and characteristics of a rural community and the government rural development agency in Malaysia which are instrumental to the success of a rural development program. Included under this purpose of study is an historical case study of a few randomly selected development projects.

More specifically, the study will look at the social organization of the community for the purpose of understanding interaction patterns, group relations, leadership patterns, norms and values of the community. The community, as a social system, will be viewed from the perspectives of Durkheim's mechanical and organic solidarity, Tonnies' gemeinschaft and gessellschaft society, and those of other social theorists with the purpose of describing the nature of social relations, and response to social change and technological innovations. The geography and ecology of the community will also be examined and described to highlight factors that might influence behavioral patterns, economic activities, and work organization in the community.

The structure and organization of the government development bureaucracy will be examined and described for the purpose of understanding its modes of organization, operation, coordination and decision-making process. Its development objectives will be analyzed for their relevance, practicality and appropriateness to rural problems. Its human and material resources will be examined and described with the view of fulfilling three sub-objectives: (a) to determine the capacity of its personnel to understand rural problems and help rural people to implement their development projects; (b) to determine the adequacy of funds to cover the cost of implementation of these projects; and (c) to determine the existence of other resources, such as training centres, experiment stations, transport facilities that would be of help in project implementation.

The historical case study of selected development projects provides the means for the examination of the patterns of interaction between the government development agency and the community in the process of planning and implementing development projects, as well as in the analysis of the impact of these interaction patterns on cooperative efforts between the development agency and the community in the process of development.

Significance of the Study

The basic objectives of the Malaysian rural development program are: (a) to provide physical improvement in rural areas through infra-structural projects; (b) to change the rural economy through the provision of rural credit and marketing, and technical assistance; (c) to foster in rural people a spirit of self-reliance and initiative (Ness, 1967; and (d) to eradicate poverty (4th Malaysia Plan, 1981). The philosophy of the program emphasizes cooperative efforts between the people and the development agency in the process of development.

However, in practice the objectives and philosophy are seldom realized to the fullest. Infra-strucutral projects, such as bridges, community halls, rural roads, etc. are sometimes not maintained by rural communities. Farmers become too dependent on hand-out schemes, and consequently, the spirit of self-reliance and initiative among farmers never materializes.

As a result of development projects not fitting the cultural, social, political, and ecological settings of rural communities, active participation in project implementation becomes somewhat difficult for rural people.

The significance of this study is that it is an attempt to look at development activities with reference to the cultural, social, political, and ecological settings of a particular community. It is hoped that from an analysis of the development experience of this community, some lessons might be drawn which will be of use to planners of rural development program for rural communities in Malaysia.

Rural Development: Objectives, Strategy and Practices

The basic objectives of most rural development programs are to provide better opportunities as well as to improve the welfare and standard of living or rural dwellers. Specifically, these objectives are aimed at increasing agricultural production and cash income, better health and education, and improved amenities for rural dwellers (Sharma and Malhotra, 1977; FAO, 1978; Flavier et al., 1978; Fourth Malaysia Plan, 1981).

To achieve these objectives, one of the strategies used by development agencies is that of intervening into the rural community with a development program. In countries usually referred to as the Third World, this intervening agency is usually the government. The strategy of intervention "stresses the utilization of knowledge and technology to solve the problems of individuals and groups" (Christenson and Robinson, 1980:8). In this strategy, the development agency helps these individuals and groups to define their needs, problems, and potential solutions, but allowing them to have their own say in these definitions (Gamm and Fisher, 1980:48). The role of the development agency is one of advocating a particular cause of action (Littrell, 1980:66).

However, in practice the above guidelines or policies are not strictly followed by development agencies. According to Richter (1979), in many developing countries, lack of funds and facilities, lack of personnel to man the development agency, and lack of grassroot knowledge about rural communities impede successful implementation of development objectives. From their experiences in East Africa, Apthorpe (1976) and Widstrand (1976) found that the lack of interaction between the planners and the peasants, and the social distance between the government development agencies and the rural communities are some of the reasons as to why it was difficult to transmit development objectives to these rural communities.

Because of the lack of data and grassroot knowledge about rural communities, planners often base rural development objectives not on the basis of the real experience of the people but on what the dominant socio-political thinking regards as a desirable rural society. For instance, in tribal India, the government set up various development projects such as community halls, houses, roads, bridges and other infrastructures with the objectives of what the government thought would improve the quality of life of the people. However, commenting on the program, von Furer-Haimedorf (1976) has this to say:

> Thus, houses were built but people would not live in them, roads were built only to be washed away in the rainy season, basketry centres started where there were no bamboos, and bee-keeping was established where there were no flowers. . . .

Pitt (1976) suggests that indigenous people sometimes resist change and development because of fear of alien cultural domination by the donar of the development program. Another anthropologist (Appell, 1975) indicates that when indigenous people are told to discard their existing methods and techniques of doing things, and to accept new ones introduced from outside, such a process of action can create in them a loss of self-esteem. By doing this, development agents are not only destroying indigenous knowledge but causing indigenous people unnecessary psychological stress (Ibid., 1975:39).

FAO (1978:Vol. I, p. 16) suggests that in order for the government development agency to reach the rural people with its development program in accordance with the strategy indicated by Christenson and Robinson, Gamm and Fisher, and Littrell, it is necessary for the development agency to understand the rural people, their problems, their needs and aspirations at the grassroot level. It is also necessary for the agency to form a pattern of interaction with them. To achieve this, several requirements have to be fulfilled (Ibid., 1978:16). First, the government development agency must have adequate and comprehensive structure of rural services to reach the people. Second, people must be given opportunities to express their views, acquire new knowledge, attitudes, and skills which they need to fully play their role in the process, thereby bringing their own contribution to their own development. When these generate popular movement and increased participation from the people, the basic needs of the people can then be clearly identified (FAO, 1978:16; Flavier et al., 1976). Such a sequence of approach will lead to a two-way flow of ideas and information between the development agency and the rural people. It will also facilitate the execution of the strategy mentioned earlier.

Methodological Framework of Study

The studies of a village unit or a defined area of a community had always been the domain of anthropologists who used the method of participant observation. Some decades ago, other social scientists have taken that approach to study the impact of development activities at the village level. Among these are the studies carried out by Smock and Smock (1972), Young and Young (1973) and Grijpstra (1976).

Smock and Smock studied the response of rural communities to government-sponsored community plantations in Nigeria. A comparative study of the incorporation of subsystems (e.g. the village) into a larger system (e.g. the district or province) in various societies in many parts of the world was carried out by Young and Young. As for Grijpstra, he studied the effects of modern development activities on the social structure in which the rural dwellers reside. The particular group that he studied was the rural Bidayuh of Sarawak, Malaysia.

The significance of these studies is that they deal directly with the grassroot activities and problems of rural people. By combining several methods of collecting data and information on rural communities through participant observation, interviews, the use of questionnaires, etc., they are not only able to identify the real needs and problems of rural people, but also to experience them.

The present study is stimulated by the above quoted case studies. Its emphasis is in presenting the community in its own unique position or situation, and on how its people respond and participate in their own development activities, including those development activities introduced from outside. Because of the role of the government in intervening in rural communities to help rural people in their development, this study also looks at this role and the strategy that the government uses to reach the people with its development program. Such a study requires the researcher to live with the people, and to observe and interview them about their development activities.

One of the most reliable methods of collecting data for a community study is through participant observation and interviewing the people. This method has been effectively used by anthropologists for their extensive and minute descriptions of the lives of people they studied in almost every part of the world. This method has also been used by other social scientists who have studied change and development among groups of people at the community or village level.

The reliability of this method is that questions that have been conceived before going into the field can be changed or rephrased to suit the actual situation in the field. These questions can also be changed or rephrased in terms that the interviewee would understand. Moreover, as an observer, the researcher has the advantage of looking at the real experience of the people which other researchers using other modes of approach do not have.

Several methods have been combined to collect data and information for this study. During the summer holiday of 1982 (June to July, 1982), the writer spent six weeks in Ba Kelalan, observing and interviewing the rural people there, and two weeks in Lawas town, observing and interviewing government officers involved in rural development activities. This study also utilizes data from published and unpublished studies, censuses, newspaper articles, magazines, and government official reports and documents.

Objectives of the Malaysian rural development program, the structure of the development agency, its organization, and resources (human, material, and technological) are obtained from government official records, published studies, observation, and interviews with government officers in Lawas district.

Data on social organization and population are obtained from unpublished studies, official documents, observation, and interviews; and those of household ownership of property and other economic variables through observation and interviews with individuals and groups of farmers in the community.

The best way to assess the actual involvement of the development agency and the participation of the community in the implementation of development projects is through an historical analysis of selected development projects. To do this, it is necessary to find out details about the origin of these projects, the circumstances that gave rise to them, those who initiated them (the development agency or the community), and those who determined the needs for them. It is also necessary to find out as to who made the final decision to approve these projects, the planning, the implementation, and the resources (human, material, and technological) to implement them.

Data derived from this historical case study of selected development projects are obtained through observation and interviews with both government development agents and the people of Ba Kelalan.

In Ba Kelalan, interviews were conducted with groups of villagers in each of the villages, except the village of Pa Tawing (Village No. 3) which the writer was not able to visit due to lack of time. These groups varied in numbers (from ten to forty people) and comprised both sexes and various age groups. The writer was fortunate in having the opportunity to interview individually, the regional chief, the Penghulu of Ba Kelalan, four of the village headmen, three of the church deacons, and two of the cooperative society employees.

In Lawas town, the following government officers were interviewed: the two Sarawak Administrative Officers from the District Office; the Rural Health Inspector and two of his Rural Health Supervisors from the Medical Department; two technical assistants from the Public Works Department, the head of the Agriculture Department; and the Cooperative Officer, Lawas. In Ba Kelalan, the Upriver Agent, the Assistant Air Traffic Controller, one Junior Hospital Assistant, and the Junior Agricultural Assistant were also interviewed. These officers were specifically selected for the interview because of their involvement in the development activities in Ba Kelalan.

The writer is a member of the ethnic group which is the subject of this case study; he is also a member of the Sarawak Civil Service and has served in some capacity as a development agent in rural Sarawak. Experiences derived from both backgrounds are extensively utilized in this study. However, interpretation of data and response of the people and government development agents to the interview are presented as they were seen and presented to the writer by the interviewees.

Limitations of the Study

Because of limited time spent in the field, it was not possible to interview enough individual people in the community as well as government officers to ensure accuracy of information. Most of the interviews in Ba Kelalan were done with groups of individuals rather than with single persons. The problem with interviewing groups of individuals is that people may be constrained from expressing their real feelings and thoughts.

The eight villages are spread out in different parts of the Kelalan valley, and the average walking distance between each village is about an hour. Visiting each village taxed much of the limited time available to the researcher. All the villages were visited, except the village of Pa Tawing (Village No. 3). However, information on Pa Tawing was obtained through people from the village who came to trade at the cooperative store at Buduk Nur (Village No. 8), which became my base.

Written historical records on the community are very scarce. Because of the geographical isolation of the community, little was mentioned about the community in both the Brookes' and colonial government records. Some valuable historical records were lost at the Upriver Agent's office at Ba Kelalan, when the office had to move to a new building. Apart from a development plan report written by Robert Pastor, an American Peace Corps Volunteer, in 1972, there has been no study done on this community. This lack of historical records on the community constrains the accuracy of historical facts in this study.

Researchers who are outsiders to the community would face the problem of language and culture in Ba Kelalan. However, the present researcher may be operating with two biases. First, his mother was born and raised in Ba Kelalan. Because of this tie to the community, there is a likelihood of exaggerating facts favorable to the community and de-emphasizing those facts that are unfavorable. Second, as a member of the Sarawak Civil Service, a similar bias is also likely to be operative.

Plan of the Thesis

Chapter I is devoted to a discussion of the methodological framework of the study. In Chapter II, an historical review of rural development activities is given to provide insight into the status of rural development activities under three different administrations, and on how each administration tackled rural problems. Chapter III is a description of the rural development bureaucracy, its modes of organization, operation and coordination of activities.

The social organization of the community and its economic activities are described in Chapter IV and V to provide some insight into sociological factors and other characteristics of the community that are essential to cooperative efforts in community development processes.

The historical case study of randomly selected development projects is described and discussed in Chapter VI. This case study provides some insight into interaction patterns between the people and the government development agency in the process of development. An analysis of the performance of the community in its development efforts, and the interaction patterns between the people and the government development agency is discussed in Chapter VII.

CHAPTER II

RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN SARAWAK: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

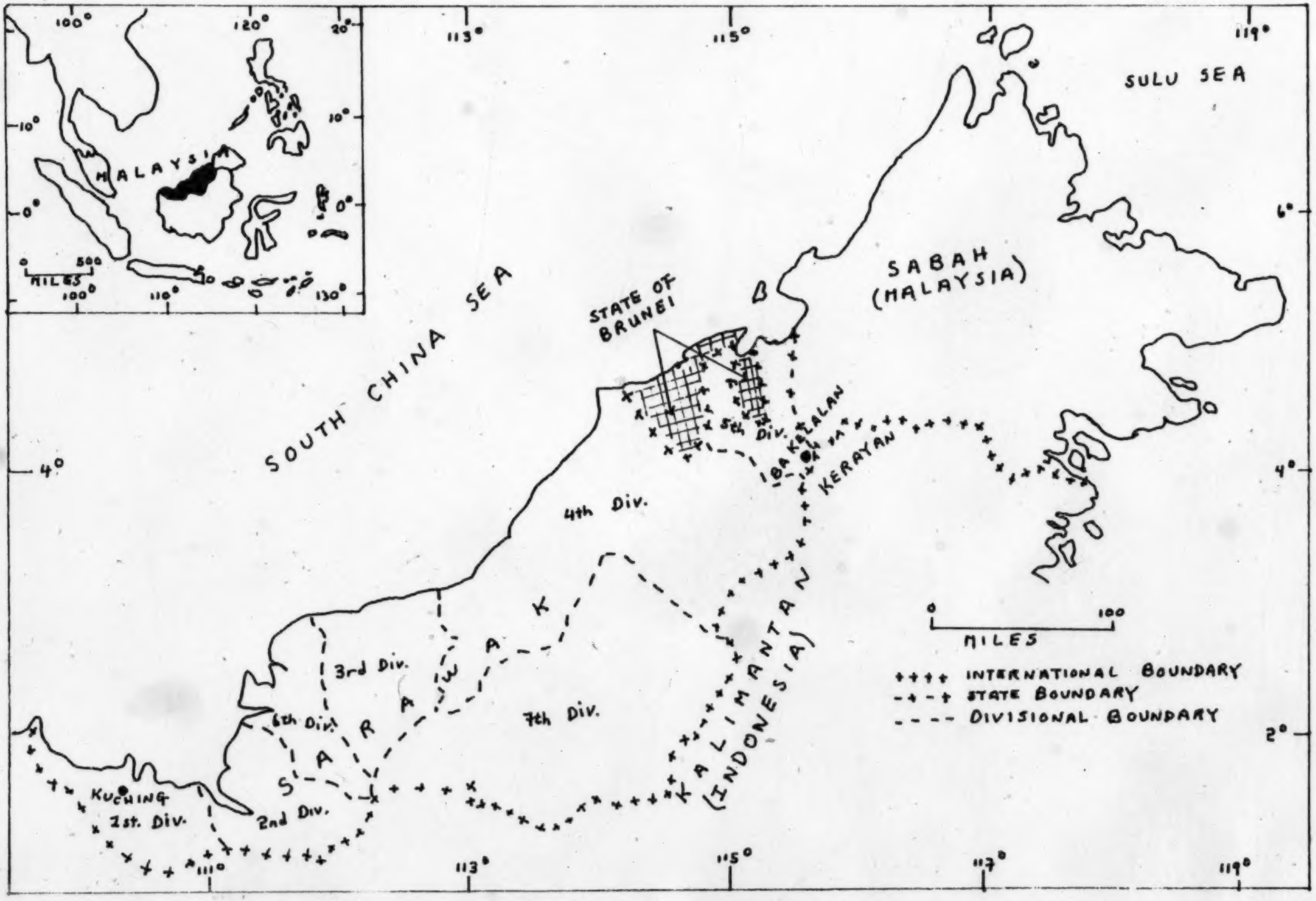
Introductory Background

This Chapter is an historical overview of rural development in Sarawak. It provides a brief history of the state, brief information about its form of government, its people, its economy, and discusses various attempts by different administrations to tackle its rural problems.

Sarawak lies to the northwest of the island of Borneo, on the South China Sea (see Map 1). It has an area of 48,342 square miles. Although it forms 38 percent of the total area of the Federation of Malaysia, its population of slightly over one million people hardly exceeds one-tenth of the national population.

Historical Sketch

From 1841 to the Japanese Occupation of the island of Borneo in 1941, Sarawak was ruled as a private estate by the Brooke family, a middle-class English family from west England (Harrisson, 1970). The first Rajah, Sir James Brooke, pioneered, subdued, and pacified warring tribes; the second Rajah, Sir Charles Brooke, expanded, stabilized, and increased the prosperity of the territory; and the third Rajah, Sir Vyner Brooke, continued the work laid down by his two


100°
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MALAYSIA
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113°
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SULU SEA
SOUTH CHINA SEA
STATE OF BRUNEI
SABAH (MALAYSIA)
6°
4°
2°
5th Div.
BAKELALAN
KERAYAN
4th Div.
SARAWAK
KALIMANTAN (INDONESIA)
3rd Div.
6th Div.
7th Div.
KUCHING
1st. Div.
2nd Div.
0 100
MILES
++++ INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
-+-+ STATE BOUNDARY
---- DIVISIONAL BOUNDARY
111°
113°
115°
117°
119°

Map #1: Map showing the location of Sarawak predecessors (Runciman, 1960; Pringle, 1970).

After World War II, the third Rajah ceded the territory to Britain as a Crown colony. Sarawak became a constitutent state within the Federation of Malaysia in September, 1963.

Government and Administration

The state government of Sarawak is popularly elected every five years on the basis of universal suffrage. The State Legislative Assembly has 48 elected members. At the federal level, Sarawak is represented by 24 elected Members of Parliament who sit in the House of Representatives and an unspecified number of appointed Senators who sit in the House of Senate.

The Sarawak Civil Service, like the federal service, conforms to the British model and retains the structure and designations established by the British in Malaysia. The importance of the civil service is that it provides continuity of administration when the political leadership changes and it is the major institution which implements government policies and development activities.

For administrative purposes, Sarawak is divided into seven administrative divisions. A senior civil servant, the Resident, takes charge of the general administration and development activites in each division. Each division is further divided into several districts; a District Officer, also a civil servant, presides over the administration and development activities in the district. A district which is too large or which has poor communication facilities is further divided into subdistricts. A junior officer, designated a Sarawak Administrative Officer, oversees the administration and development activities of a subdistrict.

The People

The population of Sarawak by ethnic group is presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1

Population of Sarawak by Ethnic Group

Ethnic Group	Population by Percent
Malay	20.1
Iban	30.9
Other Indigenes	20.9
Chinese	27.0
Others	1.1

Source: Annual Statistical Bulletin, Sarawak, 1976, p. 7.

The Iban and Other Indigenous groups make up 51.8 percent of the total population. Traditionally, they are longhouse (see Chapter IV under village unit) dwellers and live mainly in the interior and the rural sector of the country. They are mainly subsistence farmers, practicing shifting cultivation of hill rice with perhaps an addition of a rubber or pepper garden.

The Malay are also rural dwellers, but are mostly found in the coastal areas. They also cultivate rice and other cash crops, and those living close to the sea are frequently fishermen. A substantial portion of their population is found on the periphery of trading towns, and this provides one explanation for their heavy percentage in the civil service.

The distinctive characteristic of the Chinese are their predilection for the towns and active participation in business and commerce. In terms of the total population of Sarawak, the Chinese (27 percent of the total population) make up 63 percent of the urban population (Lee, 1970:211). They account for 84 percent of those active in commerce and 50 percent or more in the services, transport, building, and manufacturing (Jones, 1960:111). However, taken a group by themselves, 43 percent of their population are engaged in agricultural activities (Leigh, 1964:3). The majority of these 43 percent are found in the production of pepper and rubber.

The Economy

The economy of the state is characterized by the export of primary produce such as timber, pepper, and other agricultural produce, and most recently, oil. The increasing reliance of the state's economy on exports of primary produce can be seen in Table 2.

In 1974, petroleum products accounted for 69 percent of all value of exports (Leigh, 1979:339). However, although

Table 2

Recent Sectoral Changes in GDP

	1965	1966	1970	1973
Primary	39.1	38.6	40.6	46.2
Secondary	18.1	14.4	14.7	12.1
Tertiary	42.7	46.7	44.6	41.7

Source: Hamid Bugo, 1976

petroleum products contribute over two-thirds of the state's export, mining and quarring only employ 0.4 percent of the employed workforce in the state (see Table 3). Agriculture, on the other hand, remains the highest employer (73 percent) of the employed population. The reason for this state of affairs is not hard to find: first, the major part of petroleum products are exported in crude form; and second, 84.5 percent[1] of the population of Sarawak live in rural areas, and virtually all are actively engaged in some form of agricultural activity.

Although revenues derived from oil and timber have created a few millionaires[2] and a sense of prosperity in the urban centres, the same impact has not been felt in the rural sector. Because of this situation and the fact that most of the population of Sarawak lives in non-urban areas,

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[1] Annual Statistical Bulletin, Sarawak, 1976, p. 15.

[2] Far Eastern Economic Review, August 28, 1981, p. 70.

Table 3

Structure of the Employed Workforce in Sarawak

Industry	Percent Population
Agriculture	73.0
Mining	0.4
Administration	6.1
Service	6.0
Commerce	5.0
Manufacturing	5.0
Other	4.5

Source: Shankland and Cox, 1974, Vol. 3, p. 3.

the government rural development program is of special interest to Sarawak.

During the three different periods of Sarawak history, various attempts were made by each succeeding government to develop the rural areas. We shall explore these three different historical periods: the Brooke period (1841-1946), the Colonial period (1946-1963), and the period of independence within Malaysia (1963 to the present time) and see how each regime tackled rural problems.

The Brooke Period (1841-1946)

Unlike other European colonial governments in Southeast Asia at that time, the Brookes did not promote the establishment by Europeans of large plantations or estates in the country. In this way they not only protected their subjects from exploitation by plantation owners, but preserved the traditional way of life of the indigenous groups.

However, the attitude of the Brooke government towards introducing new ideas and change to rural people, especially the native population, was ambivalent. For instance, in 1910, the Second Rajah introduced the planting of rubber as a smallholder's industry so that rural dwellers could have their own rubber gardens to cultivate (Sutlive, 1978:128). However, at a later period, the government reversed its policy and discouraged further planting of rubber (Grijsptra, 1976:38-39). The government feared that the price of rubber might drop drastically. In many ways the Rajah was right, and the price of rubber has since fluctuated widely. Rural dwellers had been so used to self-sufficiency in their staple food, rice, that the Rajah feared that a dependency on cash crop production for a living might create severe problems if the price of the commodity dropped. Instead, people were urged to plant more rice, sago (staple food of the Melanau group) and pepper. The Iban and other indigenous groups were encouraged to carry on their traditional way of growing rice through shifting cultivation. Left with no other alternative to satisfy their needs for cash, some rural farmers continued to plant rubber under an uncooperative government.

Although the Second Rajah recognized the value of education as a growing force in the world, he was reluctant to introduce it to the indigenous groups. To rationalize his attitude he argued that:

> Our system of education is just the reverse of what it should be. We stuff natives with a lot of subjects that they don't require to know, and try to teach them to become like ourselves, treating them as if they had no original idea in their possession (Sir Charles Brooke, quoted in Pringle, 1970:139).

Consequently, the education of the indigenous groups was severely neglected. Education was confined to the Malay and Chinese.

The government established the "state's economy with alien [Chinese] labor" and did very little to encourage native participation "in a value-changing market trade" (Sutlive, 1978:121). By doing this the government left economic development entirely to the Chinese in the urban areas and those in cash crop cultivation. The indigenous groups were left in the rural sector to carry on with their traditional shifting padi cultivation. Thus, when the Third Rajah ceded the country to Britain, the rural areas were largely found to be undeveloped, and the natives had almost no modern skills with which to develop themselves.

The Colonial Period (1946-1963)

When Sarawak was ceded to the British Crown in 1946, the Colonial government found that there was no ordered development program, and information regarding the economic and social conditions of the people was lacking. To obtain intimate knowledge of the people, anthropological studies were undertaken among the Iban (Freeman, 1955), the Land Dayak (Geddes, 1954), the Melanau (Morris, 1953), and the Chinese (T'ien, 1953).

The Colonial government expanded health services and primary education to the rural areas, improved rural communication through construction of footpaths, and extended some agricultural schemes to rural farmers, mainly rubber and pepper gardners and wet-rice cultivators. However, because of limited funds, the number of these development projects was not enough to cover the large rural population.

There were four community development centres which operated in different parts of Sarawak. Two were privately organized: the Padawan Scheme, run by the Anglican Mission, served the economically depressed area of Bidayuh villages in the 1st Division; the Budu-Entabai Scheme, run by an ex-colonial officer, Mr. J.K. Wilson, served the interior Iban of the 2nd and 6th Divisions (Sarawak, 1960:111-113). Mr. Wilson relied on financial support from voluntary associations mainly in Scotland, and for manpower from student volunteers of the British Coluntary Service Overseas. The experience of this community development service is recorded in Wilson's (1970) book called Budu.

The other two centres were operated by the government. The Kanowit Improvement Scheme, established at the town of Kanowit, 3rd Division, offered training in modern farming to Iban farmers on a farm prepared and paid for by the government (Sidi Munan, 1975:69). The Community Development Centre, established at Long Lama, 4th Division, was "designed to impart simple technical skills to interior peoples of the 4th Division" (Sarawak, 1960:112).

The objectives of all these schemes were to improve the economic conditions of the Sarawak countryman, by better farming, education, and hygiene. Unfortunately, none of these centres managed to fulfill all of their objectives. For instance, at the Kanowit Improvement Scheme, not all the trainees returned to the longhouses. Follow-up visits from the centre were insufficient, and the new farming techniques (using machinery) learned from the centre were not easily adaptable to native agriculture. The Budu-Entabai project could not fulfill all its objectives due to shortage of fund and manpower, and the fact that the organizer, Mr. Wilson, had to leave the country before local leadership could take over.

Although the Colonial government recognized the value of these community development projects as a step forward in the development of rural areas, its response and support of these activities was less enthusiastic. The Colonial government was busy rebuilding the country and its economy which collapsed as a result of World War II, and it lacked funds to finance these community development projects. Moreover, the government did not have enough manpower; the limited staff that manned the Colonial administration concerned itself with the performance of routine services and orderly control of activities. Just as the Brookes left the country to the British, so too did the British leave it to an independent Malaysia.

Within Malaysia (1963 to the Present Time)

When Sarawak became a constitutent state within Malaysia in 1963, the pace of rural development was somewhat accelerated. This acceleration came about mainly due to two factors: the integration of rural development activities into the then Malayan Rural Development Program which had been active in that field for the previous four years; and a political promise to the Malay and indigenous groups that Malaysia, unlike any of the previous regimes, would bring development to rural areas where these communities are found.

Objectives

The basic objectives of the Malaysian Rural Development Program can be summarized thus: (a) to provide physical improvement in rural areas by providing infra-structure; (b) changing the structure of the rural economy through the provision of rural credit and marketing, and technical assistance; and (c) fostering in the rural people a spirit of self-reliance and initiative (Ness, 1967). However, in the 3rd Malaysia Development Plan (1971-1975), two more objectives were added to the development objectives:

eradication of poverty, and "restructuring of society" (Peacock, 1971; Malaysian Information Service Booklet, Rancangan Malaysia Keempat, (1981)

The significance of the last objective, "restructuring of society" is that Malaysia is composed of three major ethnic groups -- the Malay and other indigenous groups, the Chinese and East Indian -- which are not only divided along occupational lines, but also in locality of residence and income distribution. The immigrant groups -- Chinese and East Indian -- are largely urban dwellers, occupied mainly in the modern sector and earning a much higher income than the Malay and other indigenous groups who are largely rural dwellers, engaged in agricultural activities and earning low incomes. The objective of "restructuring of society" is to uplift the standard of living of these rural dwellers so that they too could share the wealth of the nation equitably with their urban counterparts.

Types of Program

There are two types of programs under the Malaysian Rural Development Program. The first type has its origin in the Colonial period, and its program is directed towards already populated areas. The program comes mainly in the forms of agricultural subsidy schemes and rural credit for farmers to improve their existing gardens and farms, infrastructure projects (such as roads, water supply, electricity) and other social services (such as health centres, schools and recreation facilities) for the benefit of the whole village population.

The second type of program is the Land Settlement Scheme. This is a new program and was implemented only after Sarawak became part of Malyasia. Land Settlement Schemes are established on unused government land or land that has been acquired from its users. After the land has been opened up, planted with a cash crop, and provided with a new village structure, equipped with basic amenities and infra-structure, selected settlers are moved onto it. Through deducations on the sale of their future produce, each settler repays part of the project investments and the cost of the land which becomes his property after he has repaid the whole cost.

Specific Targets of the Program

The specific target populations of the Malaysian Rural Development Program are (a) individual rubber smallholders, padi planters, the landless, and the poor farmers; and (b) groups of farmers that are resettled in Land Development Schemes. Under the program, rubber smallholders are provided with subsidies in high yielding varieties of rubber to replant. Padi planters are assisted with improve drainage and irrigation facilities, and they are also provided with high-yielding seeds. The landless and the poor farmers are given smallholdings in new land settlement schemes while poor fishermen are given subsidies for purchase of boat and gear (Peacock, 1979; 4th Malaysia Plan, 1981-1985). The program also provides assistance to specialized coconut smallholders and those who intercrop their coconut holdings with cocoa, coffee, and fruit trees.

For the benefit of the rural community, the government also provides assistance to build roads, bridges, landing strips, community halls, health centres, schools, water supply, rural electrification and recreational facilities.

Development Funds

Richter (1979:57) suggests that one of the preconditions to successful implementation of development projects is the existence of full government commitment to the program in terms of availability of funds. Table 4 below shows allocation of development funds by sector for the Second, Third, and Fourth Malaysia Development Plans.

As can be seen in Table 4 below, the agricultural and rural development sector receives more funds than any other sector. There are two main reasons why the government gives so much importance to the rural development program. First, Malaysia is largely an agricultural country, and most of its population is engaged in small agricultural farming of one form or another. Second, the program is designed to help rural Malay and indigenous people to advance themselves economically along with the Chinese and East Indians, who are already economically well off.

Development Strategy

The strategy adopted by the government is that of working side by side with rural people in the development of their communities. In a public statement to the nation, the

Table 4

Allocation of Development Funds by Sector

Sector	2nd Malaysia Plan (1971-75)	3rd Malaysia Plan (1976-80)	4th Malaysia Plan (1981-85)
Agriculture and Rural Development	25.5 percent	20.8 percent	21.2 percent
Trade and Industry	18.5	13.7	13.8
Transport and Communications	19.2	18.3	14.3
Energy and Utility	4.2	6.2	8.3
Other Economic Activities	0.5	0.4	0.2
Security	12.6	20.2	23.8
Education	9.8	6.9	7.6
Health	2.4	1.7	1.7
Housing	1.9	5.5	3.7
Other Social Activities	3.3	3.5	3.0
Other Expenditures	2.1	2.8	2.0

Source: Malaysian Information Service Booklet. Rancangan Malaysia Keempat, 1981-1985, p. 17.

Minister of Agriculture declared:

> I pursue a policy of cooperative expansion. . . . The rural folks . . . are unsuited for the cut and thrust of a capitalist society. They are used to the gotong-royong (mutual help) society of cooperative efforts (Vasil, 1971:281).

The same sentiment was also expressed in the state of Sarawak.

For instance,

> Our longhouse was something of a cooperative settlement. Gotong-royong farming has been the traditional way of life in our part of the world for centuries. Cooperative farming is gotong-royong farming and should be attractive to many of our farmers (Sarawak Gazette, N. 1372, 1972).

The words "cooperative settlements" or "cooperative farming" are loosely used by the government bureaucrats here. However, the concept of cooperation here is perceived in the traditional sense of mutual help between farmers. In terms of government intervention into the rural communities to help them in their development, cooperation is perceived as a unity of efforts between the government and the people through the concept of mutual help or gotong-royong.

In this strategy the government provides the knowledge, technical advice, and sometimes material resources, while the rural people provide the manpower and labor. This strategy is in line with those indicated by the United Nations (1963), Christenson and Robinson Jr., (1980), Gamm and Fisher (1980), and Littrell (1980).

Problem of Transportation and Communication

One of the major obstacles which impedes the successful implementation of a rural development program in Sarawak is difficult transportation and communication. In all of Malaysia, Sarawak has the worst communication problem. There are very few motorable roads, and travel into the interior is done by longboat or walking. Rural settlements are spread far apart and travelling between the scattered settlements is both expensive and time-consuming. These problems hamper adequate supervision of projects and follow-up visits.

For the first time in the history of the Malaysian Rural Development Program, the 4th Malaysia Plan had allocated to Sarawak more funds to the Transport and Communication sector than any other sector in the state. The allocation to the Transport and Communication sector was M$795.62 million or 31.62 percent of the total allocation to the state, while the Agricultural and Rural Development sector, which usually receives the most funds, was allocated M$439.90 million or 17.48 percent.[3]

From Administrative Control to Development Administration

When the Ministry of National and Rural Development was formed, Tun Abdul Razak,[4] the then Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National and Rural Development realized two important problems that required solutions. First, although the civil service retained "its integrity, discipline, public respect, and effective capacity to carry routine services down to the village level" (Esman, 1972:10) from its colonial past, it lacked the dynamism for action-oriented development administration. Second, the public was either slow or did not know how to make full use of the services provided by the government.

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[3] 4th Malaysia Plan, 1981-1985, Appendix A.

[4] Tun Abdul Razak was a civil servant himself -- at one time he used to hold the post of State Secretary of the State of Pahang -- before resigning from the civil service to take up national politics. Having had the experience in the civil service, he was aware of its deficiencies for modern development administration. No other minister has given so much to the reorganization of the Malaysian civil service and development of rural areas. For these contributions, Tun Razak is affectionately remembered in Malaysia as Bapa Pembangunan or Father of Development.

What was needed was a reformation of the administrative system and a change in attitudes and behavior of officers. This meant that officers had to lessen, if not give up altogether, the rigid bureaucratic formalities, the routine paper work, and the style of conducting public affairs from the armchair. Tun Razak insisted that officers become dynamic development administrators by going out into the field often, to live and talk with the people and acquire intimate knowledge about them, their problems, development needs, and aspirations, and where necessary, to induce attitudinal and behavioral change among them.

Tun Razak also took the task of modernizing the civil service personally and the result of this was the Montgomery-Esman Report (Montgomery-Esman, 1966), on administrative reform, and the eventual establishment of the Development Administration Unit in the Prime Minister's Department. Development committees were established at federal, state, divisional (in Sarawak only) and district levels to coordinate and supervise development activities (see Chapter

III). Government officers were expected to visit rural villages and to report accurately about the actual condition or situation they observed in the field. In order to make clear that the government meant business, Tun Razak toured the country extensively and delivered many speeches in an attempt to instill in government officers and the public the new approach the government was taking towards the development of the country.

Impact of the Administrative Reform in Sarawak

Administrative reform was a much slower process in Sarawak than in the Peninsular states of Malaysia. Sarawak became part of Malaysia only in 1963, and its recent colonial background made it difficult to change the attitudes and behavior of civil servants, especially those involved in development administration. It is still in the process of changing its administrative structure and behavior from one which was based on the principle of centralization and control to another which is action-oriented, and based on the principle of democratic decentralization and cooperation with the public.

Also because of its recent colonial background, Sarawak did not have enough qualified personnel to man the state development bureaucracy and other professional departments. When the British left the country, many important posts were handed over to local officers who did not possess the appropriate qualifications. However, with the government training program, more and more qualified personnel are being recuited into the government development bureaucracy and professional departments.

Criticism and Evaluation of the Program

The main criticism that both foreign and local critics have on the Malaysian rural development program is that the program has not gotten to the root of the real problems: poverty and tenancy (Esman, 1972:220-221; Peacock, 1979: 384). For instance, although Malaysian planners were aware of the existence of poverty in some rural areas, it was not until the Third Malaysia Plan (1976-1980) that "eradication of poverty" became one of the objectives of the development program (Peacock, 1979:384). The government was also aware of the problems of agrarian structure such as farm tenancy, fragmentation of holdings, landlessness, middleman monopoly, and non-farmer control of inputs and rural services such as credit, processing, transportation, and marketing. However, because of the political implications of these problems on the government, nothing much was done to minimize them (Esman, 1972:220-221).

These very problems undermined the farmer's incentive to modernize. In the above situation he was denied full participation in more productive activities, i.e. someone else was always taking away the profit that he made. For instance, the landowner, the middleman, or the man who controlled the credit and other rural services received the bulk of the profit. Consequently, he saw no point in trying to modernize, improve, or increase his production.

The success of the rural development program in stimulating padi and rubber production cannot be denied. In the past two decades or so, largely because of the rural development program, Malaysia has become 90 percent self-sufficient in rice and has retained its position as the world's largest producer of rubber. However, while there have been aggregate benefits of these schemes to the Malaysian society, they do not seem to have benefitted individual producers very much. For example, according to Peacock (1979:383-384), 70 percent of all double rice crop owners, and 84 percent of double rice crop tenants, and 59 percent of rubber smallholders are living below poverty line.

Peacock (1979) suggests two main reasons for the above situation. First, the size of holding has been decreasing due to an increase in population. Despite the increase in per hectare yield, the reduced size of holding per family has made it impossible for the farmer to produce enough for his family. Land development schemes aimed at providing farmers with enough land to cultivate are expensive. It costs the government M$47,000 to settle a family on newly reclaimed land (Ibid., 1979:358). Therefore, only very few rural dwellers get into the government land development schemes. Second, the government has not been able to solve the problem of land tenure. As competition for land is high, landowners tend to raise their rent to realize a better return on their investment. Because of this land rent structure, the landowner makes much more money while the economic condition of the tenant deteriorates.

Another problem which the rural development program confronts is that of "fitting" development projects into the lifestyle of rural people. For instance, in a Land Settlement Scheme in the 2nd Division of Sarawak, the government moved a few hundred Iban families from their longhouses to their respective rubber holdings. The scheme was envisaged as a means of raising the standard of living of farmers, but the Iban soon found out that their new life was not compatible with the social system that they have always been used to in the longhouse. A few of these families left the scheme and returned to their traditional villages.[5]

According to Sidi Munan (1975), among the problems that the settlers encountered were:

1. they have lost the formal gossip network which usually took place in the longhouse gallery, which

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[5] Lest it be thought that the Iban are resistant to change, the following should be made clear. According to Sutlive (1978), Iban ideologies and values are flexible and adaptive. To prove this he cites the example of the Iban who moved near the town of Sibu in the 3rd Division. Quick to notice the growing prosperity of the Chinese gardners, farmers, and businessmen, these Iban began to emulate the Chinese. Today these Iban are successful rubber and pepper gardners, wet-rice cultivators, and owners of village shops.

normally provided echange of information,

2. immediate neighbors and kin to help in times of need were often not immediately available in the vicinity,
3. there was not readily available the pool of workers for exchange because of the loss of the mechanism to organize the event on the basis of the longhouse social organization, and
4. they also lost the community organization which served to offset any extra expenses during ritual festivals and funerals.

However, the government's performance in its rural development program has drawn mixed reactions from various observers. G.D. Ness (1967:vii) claims that "of these countries, only the Federation of Malaysia and Singapore have achieved any success in their development programs." Grijpstra (1976), on the other hand, charges that the government development program has not really tackled the real problems of the people. He points out that in the state of Sarawak, the government development bureaucracy concerns itself mainly with constructing and building projects, but less on how to operate, maintain, and transform these projects into useful tools to develop the people who are supposed to benefit from these projects. Esman (1972) realizes that there are cultural constraints which limit the success of development projects but he remains optimistic since the government rural development program is assured of a consistent administrative framework with which to plan new strategies and new objectives.

CHAPTER III

RURAL DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

Introduction

A major problem in the implementation of development projects is that of coordinating systems and subsystems within a development agency. This is especially true in government bureaucratic structures where the participation of different departments and ministries is required to implement development projects. Red-tape, rigid bureaucratic rules, interdepartmental rivalries, and mistrust often hamper smooth coordination of departments involved in the implementation of development projects. According to Richter (1979), this state of affairs is a common phenomenon in government bureaucratic structures in developing countries and is responsible for failure of many development projects.

Another factor which affects coordination in bureaucratic structure is too much centralization of the decision-making process. Such a factor curbs the initiative of government personnel at the local levels; it creates a social distance between officers at the local level and the upper echelon of the bureaucratic hierarchy which finally leads to difficulties in coordinating activities between different levels of the bureaucratic structure.

Richter (1979:57) suggests that a development program must have an effective mechanism to coordinate all parties involved in its implementation, including the participation of rural people. The importance of a discussion of the Malaysian government development bureaucracy and its development committees is that these are the organizations which the government utilizes in the planning, implementation, and coordination of development activities in the nation, including development activities in rural areas.

In the Malaysian rural development program, the Ministry of National and Rural Development (MNRD) is the machinery which plans, implements and coordinates development activities (Ness, 1967; Esman, 1972). The ministry was formed in 1959, and when Sarawak became part of Malaysia in 1963, its development activities were incorporated into the MNRD.

The MNRD is linked directly to all federal government departments and ministries, statutory bodies, voluntary and professional organizations, and the state governments in the federation. Through these linkages, the MNRD coordinates the national development program.

The link between the MNRD and the state government is the State Development Office in each state. The State Development Officer, a civil servant, is responsible to both the state's Chief Minister and the Minister of the MNRD.

The State Development Officer can speak with authority from both the state Chief Minister and Minister of MNRD (Ness, 1967), on development matters in the state, and in this way, he has the authority to get cooperation of all government departments and ministries in the state in the implementation of the state development program.

Development committees are set up at various levels of government and administration, national, state, divisional (only in Sarawak) and district. Through these committees local needs are channelled to the MNRD, and through the same committees the MNRD is able to reach rural people at the grassroots level. Figure 1 shows the organization of the development machinery at all levels of government and administration.

We shall discuss the composition and functions of each of these committees. Because the focus of this study is on development activities in a rural community, we shall discuss those development committees that directly affect the implementation of development projects in the community, i.e. the state, divisional and district development committees.

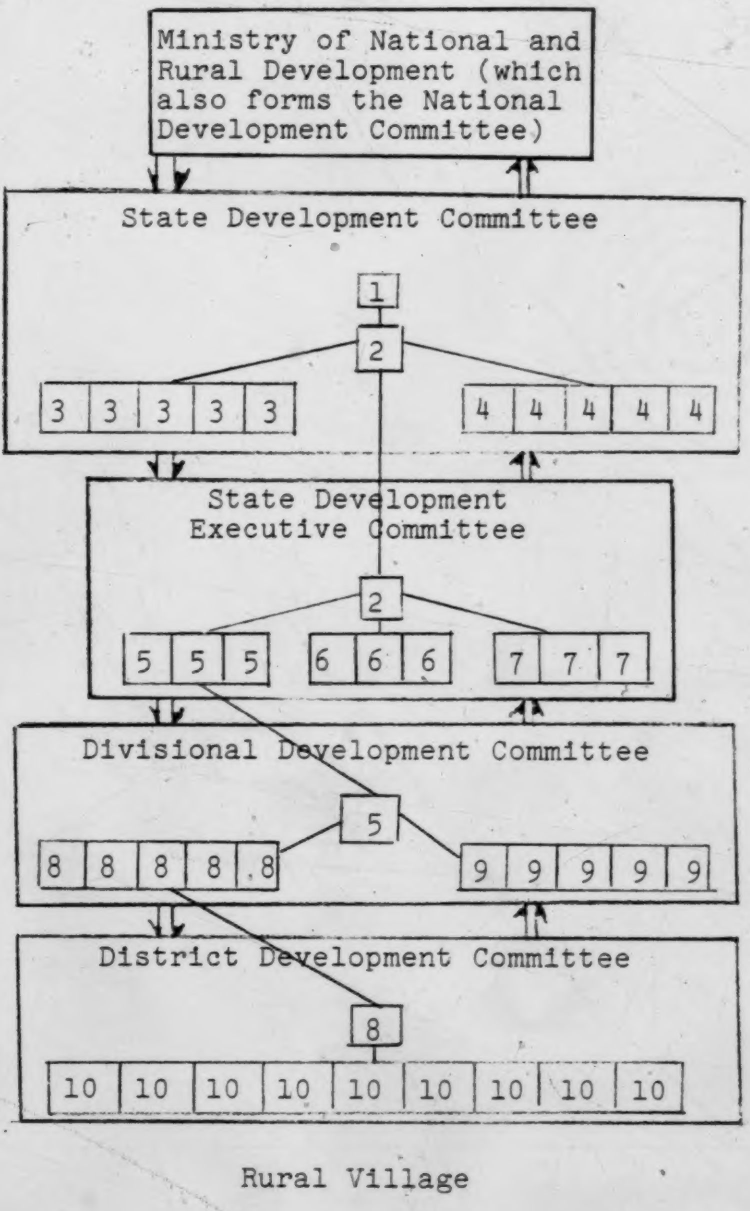
Development Committees

State Development Committee

The State Development Committee (State D.C.) is composed of the following officials: the Chief Minister as Chairman; members of the State Cabinet, a few key civil servants which include the State Secretary, the Federal Secretary, the State

Figure 1

Organization of Rural Development Program in Malaysia


Ministry of National and Rural Development (which also forms the National Development Committee)
State Development Committee
1
2
3 3 3 3 3
4 4 4 4 4
State Development Executive Committee
2
5 5 5
6 6 6
7 7 7
Divisional Development Committee
5
8 8 8 8 8
9 9 9 9 9
District Development Committee
8
10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
Rural Village

Key

1. Chief Minister
2. State Development Officer
3. Members of the State Cabinet
4. Key Civil Servants at State Level
5. The Resident of Each Division
6. State Heads of Departments
7. Statutory Corporation
8. District Officer of Each District
9. Divisional Heads of Departments
10. District Heads of Departments

Source: Personal Observation

Financial Secretary, and the Director of the State Planning Unit as members; and the State Development Officer as executive secretary. The State Development Officer is also Chairman of the State Development Executive Committee, with state heads of professional departments such as Public Works, Agriculture, Drainage and Irrigation, Medical, Forestry, etc., as members.

Insofar as rural development projects are concerned, the State D.C. approves or rejects development requests that have been considered and recommended by the lower committees, i.e. the Divisional Development Committees (Divisional D.C.) and District Development Committees (District D.C.). The Divisional D.C. and District D.C. have no power to approve development project requests.[1] Where a development requests involves a major project, such as an irrigation scheme, oil palm scheme, etc. the State D.C. will appoint a task force to study the request. On the basis of the finding of the task force, the State D.C. will either reject or recommend the request to the National Development Committee. Major development projects may either be proposed by the government for a community, or they may be directly requested by the community from the government.

Requests for development funds from the federal government are channelled through the State D.C. The State

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[1] The Divisional D.C. has power to approve some small agricultural subsidy schemes (see under Divisional D.C.).

D.C. controls the funds and distributes them evenly throughout the country through the Divisional D.C. and the District D.C. Distribution of funds is made on the basis of the number of development requests that have passed through the Divisional D.C. and District D.C.

The role of the State Development Officer - The State Development Officer is the principal executive officer and coordinator of development activities in the state. As Chairman of the State Development Executive Committee, he is the general supervisor of all development project implementation. He receives progress reports from all state heads of professional departments, Divisional D.C.s and District D.C.s. Sometimes he makes field inspections on these projects to ensure the accuracy of these progress reports. During these field visits he may meet with members of the Divisional D.C.s and District D.C.s to discuss development problems in their respective divisions and districts.

It is the State Development Officer who integrates all development requests in the state into one state development plan, and forwards them to the National Development Committee for approval. In all activities concerning development, he works closely with the MNRD staff, state heads of professional departments, and members of Divisional D.C.s and District D.C.s.

Divisional Development Committee

The Chairman of the Divisional Development Committee

(Divisional D.C.) is the Resident, a civil servant who is the administrative head of the Division. Members of the committee are divisional heads of professional departments and the District Officers of all the districts in his Division. The executive secretary of the committee is the Administrative Officer (Planning/Development), an officer in the Resident's Office, who is assigned to coordinate all development activities in the Division.

The Divisional D.C. considers and makes recommendations on development project requests it receives from all the District D.C.s. Development requests that have not been rejected by the Divisional D.C. are recommended for approval by the State Development Committee (S.D.C.).

The activities of the Divisional D.C. are very similar to those of the District D.C. except that its activities are wider in scope: it covers an administrative division, and has the District D.C. under its supervision.

Agricultural subsidy scheme - A certain amount of the development funds are made available to the Agriculture Department for distribution to individual farmers throughout the state. These funds are for minor agricultural development schemes. The main objective of these schemes is to assist rubber smallholders, *padi* planters, etc., to improve their cultivation.

The funds are distributed to all the Divisions in accordance with the farming population of each Division. Approval of applications for these schemes is made at the

Divisional D.C. level.

Applications for these schemes are made by farmers to the Agriculture Department at the district level. The Agriculture Department processes these applications, conducts the necessary field investigation of the applicants, and then brings these applications to the District D.C. for recommendation to the Divisional D.C. The Divisional D.C. will then approve a certain number of these applications in accordance with the funds available at the Divisional Agricultural headquarters where the funds are kept.

However, the rules and regulations regarding these schemes, and what the farmers should and should not do are set by the State Agricultural headquarters. Successful scheme applicants are expected to follow these rules and regulations, or instructions. Indeed, applications are approved on the basis of whether the scheme applicants, in the opinion of the Agriculture Department, are capable of following these rules.

District Development Committee

The District Development Committee (District D.C.) is chaired by the District Officer. Members of the committee are district heads of professional departments. A junior administrative officer, a Sarawak Administrative Officer, acts as the executive secretary.

The District D.C. is the first committee which usually receives development requests from the people. It is at this level that the major task of gathering data, planning, and implementing minor rural development projects takes place. Development project requests received from the people are investigated by officials of the District D.C. They gather as much information about the requests from the people who submitted them, and discuss other relevant issues. These requests are then brought to the District D.C. which makes the necessary recommendations on them to the Divisional Development Committee (Divisional D.C.) for further consideration or approval. The District D.C. has no power to approve development requests. (If the development request was for a major project, such as an irrigation project, the task of gathering data, etc., will be coordinated either by the Divisional D.C. or the State Development Committee). The District D.C. is also charged with the task of explaining reasons for the rejection of minor development project requests to the applicants.

As mentioned earlier, implementation of minor rural development projects such as rural roads, bridges, water supply, and small assistance to farmers is coordinated by the District D.C. Implementing departments keeps the committee informed of the progress of implementation.

The District D.C. has its own Operation Room in the district office. The Operation Room is equipped with district maps showing the distribution of the population, locations of projects, and other information. Various charts showing the nature of these projects and progress of implementation are also displayed in the Operation Room.

The development activities of the committee are organized around a standardized plan that has come to be known as the Red Book. One of the tasks of the committee is to fill the Red Book with particulars of all the projects, their locations, the number of people that would benefit from them, and progress of implementation.

The advantage of the Red Book is that each time the committee meets, members can see at a glance the progress that has been achieved; it also aids in orderly coordination and organization of activities. Before a government Minister goes to the sites to inspect particular projects, he is briefed on the Red Book first.

The committee meets regularly, at least once in two months, and records of these meetings are kept in minutes. Each separate item discussed in the meeting is recorded in the minutes and given a separate paragraph with the numbers running consecutively throughout the year. Minutes need not be formally confirmed at each meeting, the date, time and place[2] of the next meeting is recorded in the minutes. Copies of the minutes are to be released to members and the Chairman of the Divisional Development Committee within three days after the meeting.

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[2] The meeting is usually held in the District Development Operation Room, but for a change of atmosphere, a meeting may be conducted elsewhere, e.g. at another office of another department.

Village Development Committee

The Village Development Committee (Village D.C.) was introduced in the state in the early 1970s. It is usually composed of the village headman as Chairman, some prominent members of the village (in Ba Kelalan, these members would include the church deacons) as members, while a literate young man would act as the secretary.

The functions of the Village D.C. are: (a) to discuss community development projects that they want to request from the government; (b) to organize meetings with development agents when they visit the rural areas; (c) to organize cooperative work groups to work on implementation of development projects; and (d) to look after the maintenance of development projects.

The Village D.C. has no power to influence the decision of the District D.C. or any other development committee above the district level.

Development Administration at the District Level

The District Administrative Office, Lawas

Besides being a coordinating department for development activities in the district, the District Administrative Office (which is properly known as the District Office) is the centre of other government activities. Payment of taxes and fines, land transactions, probate matters, adjudication of public and domestic disputes, marriages, ceremonial events, and a host of other activities are conducted at the District Office. The District Office is a meeting place where the government and people have access to each other.

Roles of the District Officer - The role of the District Officer is complex and covers a large variety of duties and responsibilities. He is often described as "Jack of all trades". He is the principal executive officer of the government at the district level; he explains and executes government policies; he gets feedback from the people; and he advises the government on the reaction of the people towards government policies or on any matter pertaining to the district. He is conferred by the government with magisterial power and hears native cases in the Native Court and lesser offences in the District Court. He is a Registrar of Marriage, a Probate Officer, a Land Officer, and Development Administrators, etc. For administrative purposes, the District Officer is responsible to the state's Chief Minister through the Resident (in each Division) and the State Secretary. However, in development matters he is responsible to the Federal Minister of National and Rural Development through the Resident and the State Development Officer, who himself, is an executive answering to both the Chief Minister and the Minister of National and Rural Development.

The development duties of the District Officer - Most of the development duties of the District Officer have been discussed earlier under the heading, District Development

Committee. Here we shall discuss the importance of his role in development activities in the district.

The District Office occupies a strategic position between the government and the people. It is the most important government agency in the district and is of easy access to the public. Historically, all government professional departments ued to occupy the District Office building. Because of the historical significance of the District Office, rural dwellers perceive development activities in the district as revolving around the District Office.

As Chairman of the District D.C., the way the District Officer conducts himself has wide implications. Most District Officers have at least a diploma in either public administration or development administration from a technical college. However, the best tools a District Officer has for becoming an effective development administrator are good common sense, good public relations with members of the public and staff members of professional departments, and an intimate knowledge of the problem of his district and its people. A good District Officer will travel his district extensively, talk with the people, and keep notes of what he observes in the district. A District Officer who knows his district and his development duties well will get a lot of respect and cooperation from the professional departments involved in the implementation of development projects as well as from rural dwellers.

Personnel - Besides the clerical staff and the treasurer, the District Officer has a few junior administrative officers - Sarawak Administrative Officer (SAO) to assist him in the administration of the district. The nornal strength of SATs for a district is four, but the District Office, in Lawas, at the time of this study was conducted, had only two.

The District Officer at Lawas was a graduate from an Australian university. Prior to his appointment as District Officer, Lawas, he had been working in various government departments for slightly more than ten years. Although the varied experience he had had in the other departments was an advantage to him, this experience was in urban settings and had little relevance to rural problems. Lawas was his first posting as a District Officer, a relatively rural district, and it was evident that he had quite a lot to learn from the job.

One of the two SAOs at Lawas was a graduate in geography from the University of Malaya. He had just joined the service, and he too was still learning on the job. The other was a senior secondary school graduate and had been in the service for nine years. Although he was the most junior in rank, he was the most experienced of the three administrators. Prior to his posting to Lawas, he had served in two rural districts in the 7th Division. He had a one-month induction course for SAOs at the State Training Centre, and had attended a number of seminars on district administration and development.

Both the District Officer and his two SAOs were from rural backgrounds. In some ways this was an advantage as it was much easier for them to identify themselves with rural problems than someone with an urban background.

The Professional Departments in Lawas

Most of the professional departments in the state have a branch office in Lawas. However, two important professional departments which do not have a branch office in Lawas are the Land and Survey Department and the Department of Drainage and Irrigation. The development functions of these professional departments are described below.

Development functions - The main functions of the professional departments are to conduct feasibility studies of development project proposals and development project requests from the public, submit these studies or findings to the District D.C., and implement these development projects when they are approved.

The four professional departments which were involved in six development projects in Ba Kelalan that are discussed in this case study were: the Public Works Department, the Agriculture Department, the Medical Department, and the Department of Cooperative Development. The Public Works Department (P.W.D.) was involved in the construction of the airstrip, the Agriculture Department in the agricultural schemes, the Medical Department in the water supply projects, and the Department of Cooperative Development in the establishment of the Cooperative Society.

Personnel - The P.W.D. had three university-trained engineers, one technical assistant, and six junior technical assistants. Except for the three junior technical assistants, these officers were from an urban background.

The Agriculture Department had twenty-four field officers. All the officers had at least one year of basic course work in agriculture at the State Agricultural Training Centre, Kuching, before being assigned to the department. Twelve of them had further specialized training in various fields of agriculture, such as in fisheries, animal husbandry, rubber development, etc. The academic backgrounds of the officers were either a full senior secondary education or a full junior secondary education. Incidently, all the twenty-four officers were from a farming background.

The Rural Health Service Program of the Medical Department was administered by seven officers: one Rural Health Inspector (RHI) who was in charge of the program, five Rural Health Supervisors (RHS), and a sanitation worker. The RHI had a full senior secondary education and a diploma in rural health from the School of Rural Health in Kuala Lumpur. The RHS's had junior secondary education and a one-year course in rural health at the Training School for Rural Health in Kiching. All these officers were from rural backgrounds. In fact, the RHI and two of the RHS's were from Ba Kelalan, the area of this case study.

The Department of Cooperative Development formerly had two officers in that office, but at the time this research was done, it had only one officer. However, he was occasionally assisted by his colleagues at the Divisional Headquarters in Limbang.

The officer was from a rural village in the 2nd Division and had a full senior secondary education. He had been on the job for six years and attended a ten-month cooperative development course at the National Cooperative College in Kuala Lumpur. He also attended several state and interstate seminars on cooperative development. His work experience had been mainly in rural cooperative stores.

When all the four departments were asked to assess whether the number of personnel in their departments was adequate to handle the volume of work allocated to them, only the Agriculture Department thought that it had an adequate number of personnel. However, when asked to assess if their departments had an adequate number of qualified personnel to carry out their duties efficiently, none of the departments answered in the affirmative.

Summary

In line with Richter's (1979) thinking, the Malaysian government has set up the Ministry of National and Rural Development to coordinate development activities in the country. In fact, the Ministry of National and Rural Development is considered as the third most important ministry after the office of the Prime Minister and the Ministry of Home Affairs.

The rural development program in Malaysia can be said to be well coordinated by a well structured development bureaucracy. At the state level, department and ministries are appropriately linked to the State Development Office, which allows for smooth coordination of an integrated development program for the State. The lower levels of the bureaucratic hierarchy are also appropirately linked to the State Development Office, so that there is adequate transmission of information and ideas both ways.

Richter (1979) also suggests that adequate quantity and quality of personnel to man the development bureaucracy is essential to successful implementation of a developmental program. As indicated by the data in the government departments in Lawas, the number and quality of personnel found in the government departments that were interviewed, is not as high as might have been desired.

However, from the discussion in the preceding and in this chapter, it is important to note that the Malaysian government has recognized some of the basic essentials of a successful development program. Specifically, the government has recognized the importance of committing sufficient funds to the program and of having a well structured development bureaucracy to run the program. The government has also recognized the need for an adequate number of qualified personnel to execute the development program. For this purpose, the government has been sending students and government officers for further technical training.[3]

The participation of the people in the development program is of course important. However, before broaching that subject, we shall discuss some essential characteristics of a rural community and its economic activities. We shall devote Chapters IV and V to this discussion.

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[3] No data was available to the writer on the number of students and government officers who have been sent for technical training in colleges and universities.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMMUNITY

Introduction

This Chapter is devoted to an examination of some important sociological factors in the community of Ba Kelalan. Specifically, we shall look at the location of the community, the origin of the people, their social organization, social change which had taken place there, and various local and government institutions in the community. Our aim is to describe these factors with the hope that such a description may provide us with some ideas about the potential (or the lack of it) of the community for development.

Location

The community of Ba Kelalan is situated in the northern part of Sarawak, in the interior of Lawas district, near the border with Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo). It is an isolated community. The nearest trading centre to it is the town of Lawas, four to seven days walking distance down in the coastal area. In 1974, the Malaysian Airline System began regular flights between Lawas town and Ba Kelalan.

Ba Kelalan is 3,000 feet above sea level. The climate there is different from most parts of the State of Sarawak.

Although there is no temperature data available for Ba Kelalan, existing reports for Bareo (3,300 feet above sea level) in the Kelabit Highlands indicate a mean monthly temperature of 72.6° to 79.7° F. Midday temperatures are often similar to those of the lowlands, but lower humidity makes it seem cooler. Nights are appreciably cooler than in lowlands.

The community of Ba Kelalan is made up of eight settlements (see Map 2), comprising 127 families and a population of 850 people[1] (see Table 5).

Table 5

Population of Ba Kelalan by Villages

Village	Number of Families	Population M	Population F	Total
1. Long Ubau	3	9	7	16
2. Buduk Bui	29	97	97	194
3. Pa Tawing	2	11	10	21
4. Long Rusu	8	24	22	46
5. Long Ritan	5	15	16	31
6. Long Lemutut	8	32	21	53
7. Long Langai	26	98	86	184
8. Buduk Nur	46	152	153	305
Total	127	438	412	850

Source: Field trip survey data, June, 1982.

Note: Average number of people per family is about seven.

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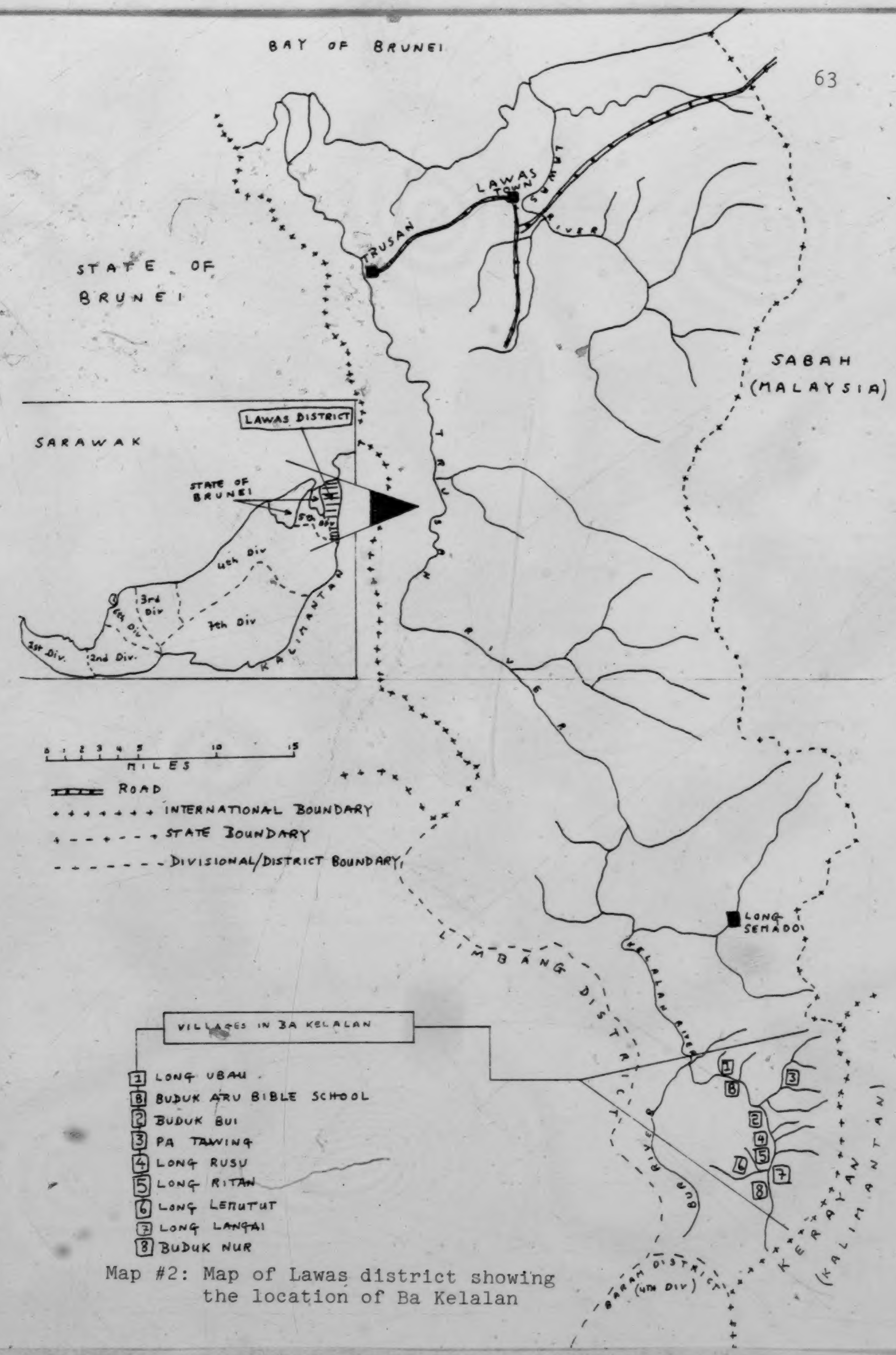
[1] Besides these eight villages there is a Bible School at Buduk Aru which has a population of 127 people.


BAY OF BRUNEI
STATE OF BRUNEI
LAWAS TOWN
TRUSAN
SUMUT
RIVER
SABAH (MALAYSIA)
SARAWAK
LAWAS DISTRICT
STATE OF BRUNEI
5th Div
4th Div
3rd Div
6th Div
7th Div
1st Div.
2nd Div.
KALIMANTAN
TRUSAN RIVER
0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15
MILES
ROAD
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
STATE BOUNDARY
DIVISIONAL/DISTRICT BOUNDARY
LONG SEMADO
KELALAN RIVER
LIMBANG DISTRICT
VILLAGES IN BA KELALAN
1 LONG UBAU
B BUDUK ARU BIBLE SCHOOL
2 BUDUK BUI
3 PA TAWING
4 LONG RUSU
5 LONG RITAN
6 LONG LEMUTUT
7 LONG LANGAI
8 BUDUK NUR
BURU RIVER
KERAYAN
(KALIMANTAN)
BARAM DISTRICT (4th DIV)

Map #2: Map of Lawas district showing the location of Ba Kelalan

History

The people of Ba Kelalan claim that they are the first people to occupy the valley, and have occupied it since time immemorial. Some old folks say that their great ancestors used to live below Mount Murud (8,000 feel above sea level, the highest peak in Sarawak), in the Bur Valley, about a day's walk from Ba Kelalan. As the upper Kelalan Valley falls within the Kelabit-Kerayan Highlands, heartland of the Kelabit and Lun Dayeh peoples (Schneeberger, 1945) who are related to the people of Ba Kelalan, their claim to have been the first people to occupy the Kelalan Valley has credibility.

However, there are two villages in the valley which are occupied by recent immigrant groups from Kalimantan: Pa Tawing (Village #3), and Long Lemutut (Village #6). The people of Pa Tawing migrated into the area from the Kerayan in Indonesian Borneo just before the Indonesian Confrontation with Malaysia (the Confrontation lasted from 1963 to 1966). Originally, there were twelve families at Pa Tawing, but ten of them migrated further down to the lowlands near Lawas town. Those at Long Lemutut also migrated from the Kerayan soon after World War II. They have established themselves much more permanently at their location than those at Pa Tawing, and own the piece of land that they cultivate.

The Lun Bawang

The people of Ba Kelalan count themselves among the

Lun Bawang,[2] a small Bornean indigenous group which occupies mainly the highland of Borneo. The Lun Bawang are found in all the four political states of Borneo. There are apprximately 25,000 Lun Bawang in Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo), 7,000 in Sarawak (Malaysia), 2,000 in Sabah (Malaysia), and about 300 or more in the State of Brunei (cited in J.B. Crain, 1978).

In Sarawak, virtually all Lun Bawang are found in the 5th Division, in Limbang and Lawas districts.

Historians believe that the Lun Bawang were among the first few tribes to settle on the island of Borneo (Runciman,

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[2] This ethnic group has been known by several terms, such as "Murut", "Lun Dayeh", and "Lun Bawang". Several attempts were made to explain the meaning of the term "Murut" (e.g., Sarawak Gazette, April 1937; St. John, 1862, Vol. II:126:; Rutter, 1929:30; Hose, 1927; and Lian-Saging, 1977:18), but without any satisfactory result. However, in their language, the term Lun Dayeh means "people of the upriver" or "people of the interior" while Lun Bawang means "people of this place". The term "Murut" was forced by outsiders onto them, while the other two terms are what they prefer to call themselves, depending on where they live. The term Lun Dayeh is preferred by those who reside in Sabah and Kalimantan. In Sarawak, Lun Bawang was first popularized by those who live near the coastal area around Lawas town, and has since gained wide acceptance by Lun Bawang in Sarawak. The Lun Bawang around Lawas town were not comfortable with the term Lun Dayeh, because in the past they were called "Lun Lod", meaning "people of downriver" or "people near the sea" by their own ethnic group in Sabah and Kalimantan, and those at Long Semado and Ba Belalan areas. Consequently, they felt that the term Lun Dayeh was not appropriate for them. In the past, the two terms - Lun Dayeh and Lun Nod - had been used to incite regionalism so that a more neutral term like Lun Bawang was thought more appropriate for them. Lun Bawang and Lun Dayeh are the same people culturally and linguistically. In this study, the term Lun Bawang will be used to refer to the people of Ba Kelalan and those of their ethnic groups in Sarawak, Sabah, Brunei, and Kalimantan.

1960:6). Harrisson (1959a:8-11) feels that the interior tablelands of Borneo were first settled by the Lun Bawang. By the 17th century they then moved south and west into the Baram, Limbang, and Bahau river drainage systems, but this movement was checked by the Kayan and Kenyah who were migrating in the opposite direction. Other areas settled by the Lun Bawang were the Adang River Valley (St. John, 1863, Vol. II:12), the Trusan and Lawas rivers. The last two river systems are still occupied by Lun Bawang.

Social Organization

The Household Unit

The basic unit of Lun Bawang society is the uang ruma, household. Uang ruma literally means "flesh of the house". It is the basic unit of production, consumption, procreation, and education. Every Lun Bawang is a member of one of the uang ruma, and it is through this membership that an individual relates to the village or the community. As shown in Table 4, the average number of people per family is about seven. The uang ruma is usually a nuclear family and is composed of a husband and wife, and their offspring. The occurrence of an extended family is rare.

However, brothers and cousins prefer to build their houses next to each other so that help can be solicited much more easily. During important events or crises, such as marriage, birth of a child or death in the family, help can be solicited from one's kinsmen.

The Lun Bawang are a monogamous people, and marriage is possible with people outside their own ethnic group. However, the preferred marriage is within their own ethnic group, and indeed within their own village. The Lun Bawang practice the custom of paying the bride's parents the bride price, so that after the marriage, the girl has to leave her natal family for the family of her spouse.

As a consequence of that marriage, a special family tie is created between the wife's family and the husband's family. Each family will try to help the other in farm work and other economic activities, no matter how far removed their villages are from each other. Because one can solicit help from one's brothers- and sisters-in-law, etc., most people prefer to marry into a family that has many children and close relatives who are known to be hard working.

The Village Unit

In the past, the Lun Bawang used to live in communal longhouses. As its name indicates, a longhouse is a single structured building where every family had its own apartment in the building. However, in more recent times, the preference for detached single family dwelling had changed the village set-up to that of a kapung.[3]

A kapung is made up of a collection of uang ruma mentioned earlier. In Ba Kelalan, the smallest kapung is made up of two uang ruma while the largest is made up of forty-six[4] (see Table 4). These uang ruma are bound together in a number of relationships: kinship network, farm work group (discussed in Chapter V), kapung membership, and congregation, sidang membership (see under The Local Church in this Chapter). Each kapung has its own headman, the Tua Kapung (see under Leadership Patterns in this Chapter). The autonomy of each kapung is manifested in the office of the village headman, farming territory, farm work group, and sometimes the local church congregation.

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[3] From the Malay word kampung which means a village.

The Community

The community has been defined by Christenson and Robinson Jr. (1980), as composed of the following elements: "(1) people (2) within a geographical bounded area (3) involved in social interaction and (4) with one or more psychological ties with each other and with the place they live in." For reasons of ethnicity, history, geography, and administration, the people of Ba Kelalan perceive themselves, and are recognized by others, as one community - the community of Ba Kelalan. This fact is also recognized by the government. Government institutions such as the Upriver Agency, the Primary School, the Subhealth Centre, the Agriculture Office, etc., are named after the community and serve specifically this particular community.

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[4] A kapung is normally made up of between 10 to 20 households. Buduk Nur (46 households) is an amalgamation of 3 kapungs and Bukuk Bui (29 households) is an amalgamation of 2 kapungs. Long Ubau (3 households) and Pa Tawing (2 households) are pioneer kapungs. Thus far these two kapungs have not attracted new-comers. When there is land pressure in the older settled areas in the future, these two kapungs might attract new settlers.

Ba Kelalan is represented by one Councillor in the Lawas District Council body, and there is one regional chief, the Penghulu (see under Leadership Patterns in this Chapter) who presides over the general administration of the community.

Community development projects such as the airstrip, the cooperative store, etc., were constructed and established by the joint efforts of all the eight villages in Ba Kelalan. These eight villages cooperate in many such development activities for this community.

Cooperation as a Social Process

Cooperation is the basis of many Lun Bawang activities. Cooperation revolves around a kinship network, the village, the church organization, and the community. Lun Bawang communities are closely knit and highly integrated. During the days of headhunting, safety was found through living in large numbers and in close cooperation. Nowadays, cooperation is mainly necessary for economic and agricultural reasons. Agricultural activities require intensive labor, and the most efficient way to accomplish these activities is by working as a cooperative group.

The Lun Bawang have several ways of organizing economic and agricultural activities on the basis of cooperation. These include the peruyud, musang, ngerupen, ngesul, umum, and peruyung (see Chapter V). Some of these cooperative work organizations are used in the implementation of government-sponsored development projects.

A kinship network is important, and many activities are organized around it. For instance, when there is extra work to be done on the farm, in the construction of a house, fencing of livestock, etc., the cooperation of one's kinsmen is solicited. Projects such as the operation of a rice mill or village shop are sometimes organized around the kinship network where kinsmen become co-owners of these establishments.

Status and Prestige in Ba Kelalan

The Lun Bawang are stratified on the basis of age, sex, and social class. Older people have a higher status than younger people, women are considered somewhat inferior to men in social status and some families have a higher status while others have a lower one. The class system among the Lun Bawang is not as elaborate nor as rigid as those found among the Kenyah and Kayan (St. John, 1963:108-138; Rousseau, 1974:99-121).

Ordinarily, a Lun Bawang may be said to be a lun do, literally, "good person" or "person of quality" or a lun dat, "bad person" of "person without quality."[5]

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[5] Detailed aspects of Lun Bawang social stratification are discussed by Deegen, 1973:86-110.

Within the lun do category, a few people will excel in society. These are the lun mebala (lit. people who are renowned) whose talents have made them well-known, influential, wealthy, and powerful in the context of their society. Possession of livestock, slaves (during the days of headhunting), traditional objects of value such as Chinese brassware, gongs, ancient jars, and ancient beads, ownership of land, farming success, leadership, oratorial ability, military prowess (during the days of headhunting), wisdom, and generosity are some of the marks of a lun mebala. Nowadays, business success and education have been added to these criteria and have a high value in the Lun Bawang social stratification system.

The majority of the lun do are the lun tap-tap (lit. ordinary people), who are as good as the lun mebala, but lack certain aspects of the desired qualities of the lun mebala.

The lun dat include those who cannot provide sufficiently for their families, and have to work for other people for wages (petabpar) in order to make ends meet. These are the lun petabpar. Also included under the category of the lun dat were the slaves, demulun.[6]

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[6] Slaves were normally war captives. They became the property of the owner and could be traded in the same fashion as one would trade guns, porcelain jars, or other property. The institution of slavery was abolished by the Brooke government in 1928. Nowadays, in some Lun Bawang communities, it is not only disrespectful to call descendents of slaves by that name, but also an offence.

In the past, status was obtained through ascription. Nowadays, upward mobility between strata is achieved through personal merit, e.g. through education and business success. Therefore, a person of a lower status can achieve a higher status if he proves his success worthy of that higher status. Similarly, a person of a higher status can lose his status if he fails to display the qualities befitting that status. There are now many elements of egalitarianism within the Lun Bawang social structure, but their society cannot be said to be as egalitarian as the Iban described by Freeman (1955).

Leadership Patterns

Tua Kapung - The office of the village headman, the Tua Kapung created by the government. The holder is appointed by the government through the consensus of the adult population of the village.

The Tua Kapung is the intermediary between the village and the government. His other duties include judging minor offences and disputes[7] between members of the village, and entertaining official guests of the village. As the headman of the village he is expected to play an active role in coordinating the traditional activities of the village.

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[7] Common disputes between members of a kapung involve access to water to flood the rice field (kedaluh abang abpa), farm boundaries (kedaluh Lakan lati), breaking of fences and destruction of crops by buffaloes and cattle (kedaluh aya ngesut ar idi nuso tibu). Common family quarrels include inheritance (bagi binaweh) and infidelity or jealousy between spouses (temaruh). Common offences include adultery (paset), causing the pregnancy of an unmarried woman (matek), causing injury (ngurat), etc. The Tua Kapung's court is the lowest in the Native Court system, and appeal from that court goes to the Penghulu's court.

The holder of this office is expected to be knowledgeable about the custom and tradition of the community, and must command the respect of the villagers. Since he does not receive any remuneration for his service from the government, he is expected to be economically well off.

Penghulu - Above the Tua Kapung is the regional chief, the Penghulu. The position is also created by the government, and its holder is appointed through consultation with the elders in the region. There are no defined criteria to indicate the size of the area, and the number of villages under the jurisdiction of a Penghulu. Size of area and number of villages are determined by the convenience of geography and ease of communication among a group of villages. However, for the community of Ba Kelalan, there is one Penghulu.

The Penghulu's duties and responsibilities are somewhat similar to that of the Tua Kapung except that they are more extensive and wider in scope. He visits every village under his jurisdiction, at least twice a year to talk with the people about their problems, settle disputes, or collect various kinds of information for the government. He reports to the District Office occasionally when required by the District Officer. Since the job takes much considerable time, he is paid a monthly salary. Like the civil servants, he is prohibited from taking part in party politics, but unlike them he is free to engage in commercial and other economic ventures. His appointment is for five years. However, if he performs his duties well, his appointment can be extended for further terms.

Because of their economic and political advantage over the others i.e. they have more resources and influence in the community, the lun mebala have a better chance of being appointed as Tua Kapung and Penghulu. However, as these positions are opened up to anybody who has leadership quality, people from below the lun mebala stratum are also eligible for appointment.

The present Penghulu of Ba Kelalan is not only the youngest that Ba Kelalan has ever had, but is also the first to come from outside the traditional lun mebala stratum. He is one of the first young men from Ba Kelalan to have received a primary education, speaks some English, and has been very successful in livestock farming and the trading of buffaloes and cattle.

Since his appointment as Penghulu some ten years ago, he has faced many complaints and pressures from the community, mainly engineered by the traditional lun mebala group who are quite powerful. He has successfully overcome these complaints and pressures, and still retains his Penghuluship. Because of the strength of his character, he is likely to retire from his position, rather than ejected by the community. He has also built up a considerable amount of wealth and influence that extends beyond the community of Be Kelalan. By any standard of Lun Bawang quality, he is already a lun mebala.

Informal and opinion leadership - As indicated earlier, there are a few very powerful lun mebala individuals in Ba Kelalan. They are successful rice and animal farmers, and village shop entrepreneurs and thus control economic resources. They are fast adopters of new ideas and techniques, and because of their organizational ability, fellow villagers look to them for leadership in economic and agricultural activities. They are rather mobile, they know some of the government officials, and they can articulate themselves quite well with these officials. Some farmers who need to see government officials seek the help of these opinion leaders/power brokers to mediate between them and the government officials. Although these few lun mebala individuals have no official position in the community their influence in the community has made them perform the role of informal leaders. In this role, they can be a threat to the offices of the Tua Kapung and Penghulu, particularly if they act in unison.

Social Change: An Historical Perspective

There are two main reasons for the inclusion of an historical perspective on social change among the Lun Bawang. First, the process of social change that took place between

1935 and World War II is perhaps one of the most significant events in their history. In order to understand the Lun Bawabg of today, it is essential to understand the events which led to a drastic change in their social set up and their belief in self-development. The second purpose is to understand that social change process and its implications for the future of the Lun Bawang society.

1884-1935

Very little is known about the Lun Bawang before they came under Brooke rule in 1884. However, between 1884 and 1935, reports about the living conditions of the Lun Bawang were very disturbing.

First, the Lun Bawang were threatened by extinction by epidemics (Ricketts, 1894; Lees, 1964, 1979; Edwards, 1971). Second, there was apparently a period of cultural and moral decline in the Lun Bawang society (Deegan, 1974:293). Drunkedness was widespread, farming activities became irregular,[8] and the living conditions of the people were reported to be filthy and unhygienic (Ricketts, 1894; Edwards, 1971).

The first problem was perhaps caused by increased contact with outsiders who might have brought in new diseases for which the Lun Bawang had no immunity.

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[8] Various religious restrictions and bad omens prevented them from continuing with their farming plans. For instance, if a bad omen was encountered on the journey to the farm or while working there, all activities were abandoned. Activities could only be resumed when a good omen was encountered.

Deegan (1974:293) suggests that the cause of the second problem was the impact of the Brooke government which disrupted the traditional patterns of life of the Lun Bawang. For instance, when the Brooke government banned headhunting, rituals[9] connected with it, which were important to reaffirmation of village or community solidarity, had to be abandoned. This weakened village or community solidarity. When feuds were also banned, loyalty of members to their village or regional areas was cut loose, and village chiefs and regional chiefs lost some of their influence over their followers.

When the two problems combined - epidemics and cultural malaise - they created a sense of loss and hopelessness and anomie among the Lun Bawang. The society found itself unable to hold its members together; drunkedness became widespread, people cared less about their unhealthy living conditions, and complete apathy and inertia ruled over them.

When missionaries applied for permission to work among the Lun Bawang, permission was first denied by the Third Rajah. The Rajah told the missionaries that the Lun Bawang were beyond any hope of being saved from extinction. He suggested that they should work with other better people in other areas of Sarawak (Lees, 1979:48).

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[9] The most important of these rituals was the feast of nui ulung or raising of the monument ceremony. It was usually held at the first new moon after a new head or heads was/were obtained in headhunting expeditions. The feast was a community event, and every household was expected to contribute to it in terms of labor, food and rice wine. The headman and the heroes of the expedition were expected to take a more active part in the ceremony. The purpose of the feast was to celebrate a successful expedition and to reaffirm village or community solidarity.

Conversion to Christianity

Other groups such as the Iban and Kayan were able to adjust themselves to the Brooke government, but it seemed that the Lun Bawang had failed. Their traditional ideologies and values were no longer viable in the new situation created by the Brookes, and they had to look for a new alternative to keep their society alive.

Christianity came earlier to the Lun Bawang of then Dutch Borneo. However, it was in 1934 that the Borneo Evangelical Mission (B.E.M.) was granted permission to work among the Lun Bawang of Lawas district. Conversion took a rapid pace, and by the end of World War II, virtually all Lun Bawang became nominal Christians.

The effects of Christianity in the Lun Bawang were profound: it brought about a general improvement in their living conditions; it brough about literacy; it created self-confidence in the people; and it transformed the most drunk people in Borneo to the most sober.

When the Rajah visited Lawas, where the Borneo Evangelical Mission (B.E.M.) had its headquarters, in 1940, he told the missionaries: "I am amazed at the change in the Murut [Lun Bawang] tribe. I believe you have done more good in a few years than the government has done in forty" (Lees, 1964:17).

It is important to note that the brand of Christianity introduced to the Lun Bawang society is one which tends towards fundamentalism. Other denominations - such as the Catholics and Anglicans - were more concerned about how best to fit their religion into the culture of their converts. However, the evangelical missionairies were very direct in their approach. They promised their converts that they would have a new life, a new hope, a new vision, etc., if only they would abandon their pagan ways of life. These messages appealed to the Lun Bawang who were desperately looking for new alternatives for rebuilding their society. Consequently, this made the transition from their traditional belief to Christinaity quite rapid.

World War II

One significant event which helped to change their perceptions of themselves was World War II. When the Japanese occupied Sarawak during World War II, some of the missionaries took refuge among the Lun Bawang. A guerilla force was organized in Lun Bawang country by the allied forces to fight the Japanese. The allied forces found the Lun Bawang contribution invaluable. They proved themselves to be good fighters, and because of their speed and endurance in long distance travel, they became very useful in carrying messages between different locations (Harrisson, 1959:250).

Coming out of the war on the winning side, the Lun Bawang found themselves well-respected by their country. This was a new experience for them, and it gave them a sense of pride and built their self-esteem. They found themselves no longer the "old boots" and the hopeless group that the Third Rajah said they were (Lees, 1979:48). They also found out that they were no longer idlers or drunkards. Instead, they realized that they were a group to be reckoned with. Most important of all, they found out that they had more self-confidence in themselves, were more forward looking, and more eager to work and educate themselves than they ever realized in the past. A British district officer described the Lun Bawang after the war thus:

> They have mostly become converted to Christianity which, coupled with pride in their war record, has had a marked influence on their outlook. Many Chinese foretell the day when they will take the place of the Malays and become the most advanced race in the district. Certainly their keenness for education and their evident belief in the possibility and desirability of development, contrasted with the more fatalistic and easy-going outlook of the Malays, would appear to support this view.[10]

The Impact of Historical Experience

The social change that we have just described brought about active participation of Lun Bawang in their own development, in state and national politics, and in the control of the local church.

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[10] A.R. Miekle, Annual Report of Lawas District, 1953, kept at the District Office, Lawas.

In the past, certain religious restrictions and beliefs in omens often prevented the Lun Bawang from continuing on with their economic plans or activities. When a bad omen was encountered while working on a farm or while on a journey, activity was immediately abandoned. Activity was only resumed when a good omen was encountered. After their conversion to Christianity, there was no longer any religious restrict or bad omen that could prevent them from continuing with their plans to farm or pursue other economic activities.

Lun Bawang near the coast did not only begin to work more regularly on their farms, but took more active part in the production of rubber. In recent times they have been involved in commercial cutting and sale of timber, taxi operation, production of handicrafts, and small business operation. Because of their isolation from the market, the interior Lub Bawang concentrated their efforts on the production of rice and livestock.

There was also an increased number of Lun Bawang children going to school, This, in turn, increased the number number of Lun Bawang in the civil service and the modern private sector. Tables 6 and 7 show the number of Lun Bawang from Ba Kelalan who are working in the civil service and the private sector. It must be realized that education was only introduced in Ba Kelalan in 1956.

Sidang Injil Borneo

The idea of building up a local church came out of

Table 6

Number of Individuals from Ba Kelalan Employed by Government

Job Description	Number of Employees by Village*								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Teacher	-	-	-	2	1	1	5	5	14
Clerk	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	3
Administrative Officer	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3
School Matron	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
Draftsman (Land and Surveys)	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2
Agriculture									
- Junior Agriculture Assistant	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2
- Home Demonstrator	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Police	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	-	5
Army/Police Field Force	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	2	5
Border Scouts	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
Department of Telecommunications (Junior Tech. Assistant)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Department of Civil Aviation (Air Traffic Controller)	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2
Public Works Department									
- Greaser/Mechanic	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	6
- Junior Tech. Assistant	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
- Foreman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
- Laborer/Driver	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	4
Medical Doctor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Hospital Assistant	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
Health Inspector	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
Rural Health Supervisor	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Nurse/Community Nurse	-	-	-	1	-	-	4	1	6
Midwife	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Total	-	4	-	6	-	3	31	25	70

Source: Personal survey data, June, 1982.

Note: Almost all of these employees work in big towns; they and their family members are not included in the population census of Ba Kelalan.

*Village indicated by number as in Table 4.

Table 7

Number of Individuals from Ba Kelalan
Employed by the Private Sector

	Number of Employees by Vollage*								
Job Description	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Shell Company Employee	-	1	-	-	-	1	2	1	5
Bank Employee	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	4
Cooperative Store Employee	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	3
Timber Company									
- Driver/Plant Operator	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	4
- Wage Laborer	-	2	-	-	2	1	5	7	17
Malaysian Air Line System Em.	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	3
Company Clerk	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Shop Assistant	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	3
Businessman	-	2	-	1	-	-	2	9	14
Lawyer	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Carpenter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Pastor	-	5	-	1	2	-	-	2	10
Total	-	15	-	2	4	3	12	33	69

Source: Personel survey data, June, 1982.

Note: Most all of these employees work in the towns and they and their family members are not included in the population census of Ba Kelalan.

*Village indicated by number as in Table 4.

missionaries' experience in China. When the Communists took over China, foreign missionaries were asked to leave the country, leaving the local churches without enough local personnel to take over the work of the church administration. The B.E.M. missionaries wanted to make sure that in the event they were asked to leave Sarawak, they would leave a church with enough qualified local personnel to take care of it.

The S.I.B. church is completely governed and managed by local people. The roles of the B.E.M. personnel who are still in the country are to provide technical advice and to act as a liaison between the church and outside Christian organizations, as well as the various government institutions in the country.

The S.I.B. church has many adherents among various other native groups which also share control of the church. But because of their numerical strength in the church and the fact that S.I.B. headquarters is in Lawas, a predominantly Lun Bawang district, the dominant role in the governing of the church is played by the Lun Bawang.

The importance of this transfer of control of the church is that it taught the Lun Bawang to manage their own affairs. The church is an important part of their social structure and it is fitting that they are given control of its management.

Participation in Government and Politics

The Brooke government relied on larger ethnic groups to run the country: the Chinese in the economic development of the country, the Malay in the administrative service, and the Iban in the government military forces, that is, in the Sarawak Rangers. No Lun Bawang was involved directly in the government machinery of the Brookes.

During the Colonial period, apart from a few individuals in the police force, and not more than 20 school teachers, there were no Lun Bawang in the civil service.

As mentioned earlier, at the time Sarawak was deciding to join the Federation of Malaysia, B.E.M. missionaries decided to give the local people (mainly Lun Bawang) control of the local church. This gesture of the missionaries did not only create an interest among the Lun Bawang in the control of the church, but also in state and national politics.

When Sarawak joined Malaysia in 1963, the Lun Bawang were represented in the state legislative assembly, the Council Negri by their own people. One interesting feature about the representative was that at the time he was elected by the people to the Council Negri, he was also the President of the newly-established local church, the Sidang Injil Borneo (S.I.B.) or the Borneo Evangelical Church. He was defeated by a Malay Candidate in the 1970 election, and the Lun Bawang have never regained that Council Negri seat since. However, in 1974 a Lun Bawang was elected to the Malaysian Parliament as a Member of Parliament. This seat is still held by a Lun Bawang.[11]

The Role of the Church

To the Lun Bawang, the church is one of the most important institutions in their community. The Sunday services are occasions for community members to meet their friends, exchange information, discuss community activity, and in a sense, renew their loyalty to the community. It is the Sunday congregation that community members are united into what Durkheim called "one single moral community" (Durkheim, 1961:62).

The Congregation

The community of Ba Kelalan is divided into three congregations, or sidang. One sidang is centered at Buduk Bui, and serves the kapung of Long Ubau, Pa Tawing, Long Rusu, and Long Ritan. Another sidang is centered at Long Langai, and also serves the kapung of Long Lemutut. The third sidang is centered at Buduk Nur, the largest kapung in Ba Kelalan.

In each of these sidang there is a pastor, and a church building. The pastor is supported by the local community. He or she receives a monthly allowance, fixed by the community, and a free donation of rice and other food items. A smaller sidang normally prefers a single pastor since a pastor with a family, especially a large family, entails a bigger monthly allowance and food donation.

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[11] The present Member of Parliament is 27 years old. He was born and raised in Ba Kelalan. He attended the University of Malaya, and graduated with honors in Law.

The management of the local church is undertaken by a committee of deacons, pelayan, elected by the congregations.

The Pastor

The main functions of the pastor are to arrange for prayer meetings and Sunday services, preach, and give advice to the community on matters relating to moral issues. Sometimes he is called upon the mediate in domestic quarrels, before these develop into bigger problems that might lead the parties to seek solutions in the village court.

The Deacons

The pastor is assisted in his work by the deacons, pelayan. They are elected by the congregation, lun sidang, from amongst themselves. The criteria for election to the post of pelayan are good personal character and moral behavior of the candidate, as well as those of his immediate family members. When a man is elected pelayan, his wife automatically becomes a pelayan for the women's section. Therefore, even if a candidate has the appropriate character and behavior, but his wife and other members of his family lack them, the likelihood is that he will not get elected by the lun sidang. If any of the pelayan's family members display deviant behavior, such as smoking or drinking too much, the *pelayan* may lose his position. In this situation, the *pelayan* is perceived to have failed in keeping his house in order.

Since the *lun do* are perceived to display the proper character and behavior, most of the *pelayan* in Ba Kelalan are *lun do*. However, because the criteria for election to the position of *pelayan* are not entirely based on social standing in society, virtuous individuals with proper behavior and character from a lesser economic status can also become *palayan*. As this is one way of getting recognition of one's worth in society, many individuals would strive hard to become virtuous men in order to gain *pelayan* positions in the church.

Pelayan are respected in Lun Bawang society. Their election to the post means that they have good moral behavior and character worthy of trust and emulation. They are perceived to be the least likely persons in the community to tell a lie, and whatever they say is respected and taken as truth.

The *pelayan* serve many useful functions in the community. Their main responsibility is to look after the general welfare of the church. They make collective decisions on church policies, look after the finance of the church and allowance of the pastor, and advise deviants (usually smokers and drinkers) to abandon their bad habits and conform to the norms of society. They also assist the pastor in arranging prayer meetings, lead Sunday services, and preach.

Community events, farming activities, and other news items are channelled through the pelayan who announce these events in the church services.

As a mediator, the pelayan plays two important roles in Lun Bawang society. First, when a marriage is to take place between two people from different households, a pelayan or a group of them is required to negotiate the bride-price between the two households. In the past this role of negotiator was performed by the Tua Kapung, but because of the church involvement in marriage issues, e.g. marriage is solemnized by the pastor, and the fact that pelayan are held in such a high esteem (especially in matters pertaining to truth and justice) by the community, bride-price negotiation has been taken over by the pelayan.[12] In this situation, the pelayan is not only required to be conversant with church policies and other religious matters, but also matters relating to the customary laws of the community and the kinship structure.

Second, whenever there is a domestic quarrel within a household or between two households in the kapung, a pelayan or a group of them is asked to mediate in the quarrel. If he or the group fails to contain the parties, then the case is brought to the pastor. If the pastor also fails, the case goes up to the Tua Kapung or the Penghulu who would in all likelihood fine the guilty party and aware compensation to the injured party. According to the people of Ba Kelalan, disputes are mostly settled at the pelayan level, and rarely do cases go up to the Tua Kapung or Penghulu.

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[12] In most cases Tua Kapungs are also pelayan, so that in such a situation their role as negotiators becomes even more appropriate.

In her book, Drunk Before Dawn, Shirley Lees (1979) mentions a surprised district officer who found the court file of the Penghulu of Bareo very thin. The Penghulu explained to the district officer that everybody in Bareo had become such a good Christian that he was left with almost no disputes to settle. Perhaps the truth was that people in Bareo did quarrel among themselves, but that these disputes were settled amicably by the palayan before the Penghulu had a chance to settle them.

The number of pelayan per sidang varies according to the size of the sidang. The three sidang in Ba Kelalan had 22 pelayan each, 11 men and 11 women. The position of the pelayan is reviewed by the lun sidang every two years, so that every adult with the proper qualifications has a chance to become pelayan when encumbents are asked "to take a rest", uchu. There are, of course, a few pelayan who remain in the job for years until age forces them to retire. These are the pelayan who are exceptionally well respected for their honesty, integrity, and capability of carrying out their duties well. The work of pelayan is voluntary, and the only reward one gets from the job is the satisfaction of serving the community and the respect that one gets from the people.

Government Agencies

There are six government agencies in Ba Kelalan: the Upriver Agency, the Primary School, the Subhealth Centre, the Agriculture Office, the Civil Aviation Office, and the Border Scouts' Post.

The Upriver Agency

The Upriver Agency was established soon after World War II. It is an extension of the District Office at Lawas town. The Agency is manned by an Upriver Agent.

The main functions of the Upriver Agency are: to provide information to the people on government policies; to collect community data and other information from the people; to help in the supervision of government-sponsored development projects in the community; and to check border crossing between Sarawak and Indonesian Borneo.

The Primary School

The Primary School was established in 1956. Since the establishment of the school many young people have continued their studies in secondary schools while a few have gone to universities. At the time this study was conducted, four people from the community had just completed their university education: one in medicine, another in economics, while the other two in law. Parents are eager to send their children to school and would sacrifice anything to get them into any of the secondary schools that are only available in the big towns. Table 8 shows the current number of students from Ba Kelalan attending Primary, Secondary, and Post-Secondary institutions in the country.

Table 8

Number of Students from Ba Kelalan Attending Primary, Secondary, and Post-Secondary Institutions, 1982

		Primary		Secondary		Universities/ Colleges	
Village	Population	M	F	M	F	M	F
1. Long Ubau	16	-	2	-	-	-	-
2. Buduk Bui	194	23	18	16	16	1	1
3. Pa Tawing	21	2	1	-	1	-	-
4. Long Rusu	46	5	3	2	4	1	1
5. Long Ritan	31	1	2	-	4	-	-
6. Long Lemutut	53	9	3	3	4	1	-
7. Long Langai	184	17	12	12	9	-	1
8. Buduk Nur	305	21	31	32	23	5	1
Total	850	78	72	65	61	8	4

Source: Personal survey data, June, 1982.

The school has six classes and seven teachers. Of these seven teachers, five were local people. Four of the teachers were trained at various Teachers' Training Colleges in the state while three were untrained. Their academic backgrounds included a full secondary school education.

The Sub-Health Centre

Because Ba Kelalan is isolated - the nearest hospital being at Lawas, four to seven days walk - people did not get any medical treatment when they got sick in the past. When somebody was seriously sick the B.E.M. plane was called from Lawas to transport the patient to a hospital down in the coastal areas. Because of this problem, the government established the post of rural health dresser in Ba Kelalan in 1958.

The duties of the health dresser included treating minor cases, teaching people simple environmental and personal hygiene, and prevention of communicable diseases. The District Officer was quite happy with the work of the health dresser and in 1959 expressed his satisfaction in the following words:

> A particular word of praise is warranted for Andrew Balang Paran at Ba Kelalan, who does a full-time job. He has 300[13] patients a month, many of whom are accepted as inpatients, and when he is not treating them, he is out and around the *kampongs* on health work. His excellent results are plainly to be seen by anyone who visited the area before he was appointed.[14]

From a small rural health clinic, manned by one rural health dresser, the facility has expanded into a subhealth centre with the following staff: one hospital assistant, two junior hospital assistants, a rural health supervisor, a nurse, and two mid-wives.

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[13] In another report the District Officer mentioned that many of these patients were Indonesians from across the border. Because of their large population and the lack of supply of medicine on their side of the border, many of these Indonesians still come over to Ba Kelalan for treatment.

[14] J.T. Weekes, Second Half Yearly Report of Lawas District, 1959, kept at District Office, Lawas.

The Sarawak Health Centre System stipulates that the population coverage of a subhealth centre is between 1,500 and 2,000 people. Although the population of Ba Kelalan is well below 1,500 people, the justification in establishing the subhealth centre is the isolation of the place.

The Agriculture Office

The Agriculture Office was established in the early 1960's. It is manned by one Junior Agricultural Assistant. It provides the following services to farmers:

1. distribution of new varieties of crops, insecticides, fertilizers;
2. supervision of agricultural projects;
3. Innoculation of livestock; and
4. processing of applications for small agricultural subsidy schemes.

The Civil Aviation Office

The office was established in 1974 when the Malaysian Airline System established regular flights to Be Kelalan. It is manned by an Air Traffic Conroller. Besides monitoring air traffic, he is given charge of supervising the laborers who work on the maintenance of the airstrip.

The Border Scouts' Post

The Post was created in 1963 when Indonesia opposed the inclusion of Sarawak into the Federation of Malaysia. The post is manned by two Border Scouts personnel. The main functions of the two personnel are to maintain the border security and to help the Upriver Agent in the checking of border crossings between Sarawak and Indonesian Borneo.

The importance of these government agencies - As indicated by the functions of each of these government agencies, they provide various useful community services for Ba Kelalan. These government agencies also provide a useful link between the community and the outside world, especially the state and federal governments. The importance of this link is that it provides a two-way flow of information and ideas between the government and the community, especially in the development process of the community. The agencies are also a source of new ideas and techniques for the people of the community.

Summary

The community of Ba Kelalan is isolated. It is a rural community, and reflects the mechanical solidarity of Durkheim and *gemeinschaft* society and Tonnies.

Relationships between individuals is personal, and based on kinship and friendship. This relationship is characterized by what Warren (1963:270) calls *gemeinschaft*-like qualities such as sentiment, informality, lack of planning, non-bucreaucratic in nature, etc. Ba Kelalan is also a community based on strong religious belief.

However, in its relationship with the larger society, beyond the boundary of the community, the government agencies in Ba Kelalan provide a useful link. This relationship is vertical patterned in nature, and is characterized by gesselschaft-like qualities such as rational planning, bureaucratic structure, formality, etc. (Ibid., 1963:270).

It is important to note that one significant historical event which has had a profound impact on the Lun Bawang outlook and belief in their potential for self-development was the social and cultural change which occurred between 1935 and World War II. The importance of this socio-cultural change is that it facilitated easy adaptation to change and development for the Lun Bawang.

Having examined the social structure, patterns of interaction in the community, and the process of social and cultural change among the Lun Bawang, we shall discuss, in the next Chapter, the implications of these factors (social structure, interaction patterns, and socio-cultural change) on economic and social development activities of the people of Ba Kelalan.

CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Introduction

The main occupation of the people of Ba Kelalan is farming. The major crop they grow is rice. Much of their production is for domestic consumption. They also grow a large variety of fruits and vegetables, and these too are for domestic consumption. Various kinds of animals, such as buffaloes, cattle, goats, domestic pigs and chickens are also raised.

Because of the absence of a large market where these agricultural produce could be sold, very little of what they grow and raise is sold for cash. However, some surplus rice is sold for cash at the cooperative store and village shops in Ba Kelalan. Buffaloes, cattle and domestic pigs are walked down to Lawas for sale in the town market. The sale of these animals forms the major source of cash income for the people of Ba Kelalan. Other means of earning cash income are through opening small trading village shops, wage employment in government construction projects in Ba Kelalan or wage employment in coastal towns during the farming off-season.

Rice Cultivation

In Sarawak, rice is cultivated as dry or wet rice. Dry rice is cultivated through a method called shifting cultivation. The process involves clearing, felling, and burning of a plot of forested land which is then planted with rice. After one harvest, the land is abandoned or let fallow for a period of between three to ten years and the same process of cultivation is repeated in another area.

Wet rice cultivation involves irrigating a flat area of land on which rice is to be planted. There are several advantages of wet rice over dry or hill rice cultivation. Two of these are that wet rice cultivation does not involve as much work in preparing (clearing, felling, and burning) the field as shifting cultivation does since the same plot of land is used every farming season, and that it offers a more sedentary life to the farmer than shifting cultivation.

The Lun Bawang cultivate both dry and wet rice. In wet rice cultivation, the Lun Bawang are famous for their skillful irrigation systems and other farming techniques.

Irrigation System in Ba Kelalan

No satisfactory answers were available from the community about the origin of the irrigation system as practiced in Ba Kelalan. However, as far as older people can remember, irrigation has been practiced by them in the valley since time immemorial. In the Bur river, below Mount Murud, which is now an uninhibited forest but where the great ancestors of some of the Ba Kelalan people came from, there is evidence or traces of the higher flat land being irrigated in very much the same manner the Kelalan valley is irrigated now.

In earlier times when geographical isolation prevented the Lun Bawang of upland Borneo from obtaining iron from coastal trading centres for use as tools to cut the jungle for shifting cultivation, bamboo and sago palm trees were converted into tools which they used to dig up the river valleys for wet rice cultivation. Ironically, it was the absence of iron which led the Lun Bawang to devise a method of cultivation through irrigation. For with the absence of iron (which their neighbors used to cut jungle for shifting cultivation) the upland Lun Bawang had no other choice but to devise a different method of cultivation, i.e. to dig the river valleys with tools made of bamboo and sago palm trees into irrigated rice fields.

The beauty of their irrigation system is that the technique used is simple, and the scale of operation is small. Unlike shifting cultivation or other indigenous methods of farming operations known in Borneo, it results in the least disturbance of the ecosystem.

Wet rice as practiced in Ba Kalalan is done by regulating the flow of water into the cultivated areas of the river valley. The irrigation system involves damming (ngelaleng) a river or a stream, and guiding water into the rice fields through a system of small canals (abang abpa). Small water-gates (laleng isut) are constructed at strategic points to regulate the flow of water into the fields.

The fields of an irrigated area are divided into blocks (laleb ba). Between each block, a conduit (tabu) made of bamboo is constructed. It is used to transfer water from one block to the other.

Materials used to build up dams and the water-gates are wood, bamboo, and stones which are placed along side the dam structure to keep it strong. Construction tools include hoes (sakol, shovel (sekup), axes (kapak), and multi-purpose working knives (karit). In the past, when these tools were not available, bamboo and sago palm trees were used as tools, as indicated earlier.

The irrigation canal and other irrigation facilities are owned by the community as a group. Construction of the canal, its maintenance and repair, are undertaken by every household in the community working as a large cooperative work group. This method of working in large groups is known as peruyung (to be discussed in detail later). A household which does not contribute its labor to the construction, maintenance and repair of the canal and other irrigation structures is sanctioned by public gossip.

In terms of output, this technology has produced surplus rice harvests in all the areas of Borneo which practice it. It has produced rice surplus in the Kelabit Highlands in 4th Division, and in the Kerayan area in Kalimantan. In the whole of Lawas district, Ba Kelalan is well known for its bountiful rice harvest. In 1958, when other areas in Lawas district were suffering from poor harvests, Ba Kelalan remained unaffected.

> The harvest was severely affected by drought in all areas of hill padi cultivation. Murut cultivators around Lawas were only able to glean sufficient for seed. Long Semado and the ulu areas did somewhat better, but Ba Kelalan obtained its unusual magnificant yield from swamp padi.[1]

Attitudes of Farmers in Ba Kelalan

The attitudes of farmers towards work and adoption of new ideas are important in the development process of a community. Government officers believe that other factors which contribute to the productivity of farming activities among some Lun Bawang communities are their attitudes, response to new ideas and innovations, and the way they organize activities.

In a development proposal for Long Semado and Ba Kelalan areas which he submitted to the Agriculture Department, Robert Pastor (1972), an American Peace Corps Volunteer, described the work ethic and attitudes of the people in the area thus:

> The Muruts [Lun Bawang] are well known as hard workers. This is partly due to the sobriety of the people and partly to the climate, which is cool and dry enough for people to work from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. without becoming induly fatigued.
>
> The people have necessarily shown initiative in farming enterprises and marketing in the past, and are eager to to make the best use of their land. Evidence of this can be seen in the success of A.P.P.S. [Assistance to

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[1] First Half Yearly Report of Lawas District, 1958, kept at District Office, Lawas).

> Padi Planting Scheme], and in the performance of F.T.C. [Farmers' Training Centre) trainees from the area.
>
> It seems that they would respond to a development scheme to help them, without becoming dependent on that help.

Innovative Behaviors and Response to New Ideas

Everett Rogers (1962:13) defines innovation as "an idea perceived as new by the individual. . . . The newness of the idea to the individual determines his reaction to it." He differentiates diffusion of innovation from adoption in that "diffusion occurs among persons while adoption is an individual matter (Ibid., 1962:76). He categorizes adopters of innovation into five ideal types: "innovators", "early adopters", "early majority", "late majority" and "laggards" (Rogers, 1962:169-171).

According to him, "innovators" are eager to try new ideas. Their social relationships usually extend beyond the local circle of peers to a more cosmopolite social surrounding. They place a value on being venturesome. They are reckless and daring, and prepared to take risks.

"Early adopters" are not "too far" ahead of the average individuals in the community in innovativeness. Because of this they serve as role-models for other members of the community. They are looked to for advice and information about innovation.

The "early majority" are those who adopt new ideas just before the average members of the community adopt them while the "late majority" are those who adopt new ideas just after the majority of the community adopt them.

"Laggards" are the last to adopt innovations. They are being characterized as "frankly suspicious of innovations, innovators, and change agents", interact primarily with those who have traditional values, and are mainly "near-isolates" or live in isolated areas (Ibid., 1962:171). Rogers suggests that "their advanced age and tradition-direction slows the adoption process. . . ." and "alienation from a too-fast-moving world is apparent in much of the laggard's outlook" (Ibid., 1962:171).

While the Lun Bawang are an innovative people, they, as innovators and adopters of new ideas, do not fit neatly into the ideal types of innovators and adopters of new ideas suggested by Rogers. First, although the Lun Bawang are the most isolated of isolated groups in Borneo, this isolation has not made them "laggards" in innovation. Indeed, they are one of the most receptive groups in Borneo to innovation.

The innovativeness of the Lun Bawang has been documented by various people in various parts of Borneo. For instance, in the Malaysian state of Sabah, Crain (1970: 245) reports that "The Lun Dayeh [Lun Bawang] have been more receptive than other Sabeh native groups to new government varieties." Similar comment is also found in the District Officer's Lawas District Annual Report for the year 1959:

> The supply of australorpes and Rhode Island Reds to the various kampongs which was made last year has not been followed up in spite of the very considerable success

> that these birds have had in some areas. Tua Kampong Ating Pudun at Ba Kelalan is particularly to be congratulated. He has distributed over sixty half-bred birds to his neighbors on the basis of an improved bird for a kampong bird.[2]

For the Kerayan district of East Indonesian Borneo, Padoch (1981) reports on the remarkable eagerness of many Lun Bawang farmers in the Kerayan to adopt new varieties of plants and animals. Table 9 shows her list of recently introduced agricultural products into the area.

Although a similar list of agricultural products to Ba Kelalan was not available to the writer, people of Ba Kelalan and the Kerayan are neighbors and belong to the same ethnic group, and similar varieties of crops and animals have also been introduced by the people of Ba Kelalan to their own community.

Second, opinion leaders in Ba Kelalan cannot be said to be less innovative. Although their social system is traditional, in the sense that most of the economic activities in Ba Kelalan are organized around traditional cooperative work groups and kinship networks, these factors have not deterred opinion leaders from becoming innovative. For instance, opinion leaders have introduced many varieties to Ba Kelalan, and some of them have become village entrepreneurers.

It should also be noted that innovation in Ba Kelalan is not restricted to opinion leaders. Two varieties of rice in Ba Kelalan had been introduced by people of obscure standing in the community. Pade Sigar Tadam (rice introduced by a man

Table 9

Recently Introduced Agricultural Products

Product	(Lun Dayeh Name)	Source	Year
Rice	(Fade Tuan)	Sabeh	1966
Rice	(Fade Sale)	Trusan (Sarawak	1962-63
Rice	(Fade Sekorek)	Sebah	1978
Rice	(Fade Numur 2)	Sebah	1962-63
Rice	(Fade Sekorek)	Sebah	1962-63
Rice	(Fade Si)	Ba Kelalan	1962-63
Rice	(Fade Siam)	Trusan	1962-63
Rice	(Fade Roti)	Tutong (Sarawak)	1962-63
Cassava	(Ubi Udun)	Bario	1977
Cassava	(Ubi Kayu)	Bario	1977
Cassava	(Ubi Kapok)	Bario	1977
Cassava	(Ubi Item Tutok)	Bario	1977
Taro	(Ufa Ta'an)	Bario	1978
Taro	(Ufa Batak)	Bario	1978
Sugar Cane	(Tupuh Gula)	Bario	1979
Sugar Cane	(Tapuh Isiu)	Bario	1979
Banana	(Bong Melaka)	Trusan	1977
Banana	(Bong Bong)	Trusan	1977
Banana	(Bong Goreng)	Malinau (E. Kal.)	1953
Banana	(Bong Uran)	Tarakan (E. Kal.)	1979
Coconut	(Kelapa)	Lawas (Sarawak)	1959
Cacao	(Koko)	Sahah	1979
Guava	(Bua' Libu)	Bario	1975
Rambutan	(Bua' Ra,butan)	Lawas	1962
Mangosteen	(Bua' Manffis)	Lawas	1963
Pomelo	(Bua' Buyu Rayeh)	Lawas	1962
Fruit (?)	(Bua Datu')	Lawas	1961
Orange	(Bua' Buyu Kebun)	Lawas	1961
Soursop	(Bua' Kalam)	Lawas	1959
Apple	--	Lawas	1975

Product	(Lun Dayeh Name)	Source	Year
Grapes	--	Lawas	1975
Cabbage	--	Bario	1947
Peanuts	(Kachang Tana')	Malinau	1956
Tomato (sm)	(Bua' Tomate)	Bario	1964
Tomato (lg)	(Bua' Tomate)	Bario	1968
Eggplant	(Bua Terong)	Bario	1968
Garlic	(Bua' Bawang Buda')	Lawas	1961
Onion (lg)	(Bua' Bawang)	Lawas	1961
Chili Pepper	(Bua' Lade)	Tarakan	1976
Clove	(Chenike)	Tarakan	1977
Maize	(Dale Laket)	Ba Kelalan	1978
Maize	(Dale Kerbau)	Lawas	1956
Maize	(Dale Litek)	Bario	1953
Gourd	(Bua; Tacha' Abai)	Trusan	1962
Cucumber (lg)	(Bua' Timun)	Bario	1968
Fish (Tilapia?)	(Lawid Tuan)	Bario	1962
Fish (Cyprinus carpio	(Lawid Mas)	Be Kelalan	1979
Fish (Anabas spp.)	(Lawid Patoh)	Bario	1970-73
Fish (Tor tambroides)	(Lawid Buda')	Bario	1978
Fish (?)	(Lawid Mebarir)	Bario	1978
Pig (Hybrid)	(Berek Tuan)	Ba Kelalan	1976
Chicken (Hybrid)	(Lal Keran)	Bario	1979
Muscovy Duck	(Menila)	Bario	1963
Cow (Hybrid)	(Sapi Tuan)	Ba Kelalan	1978
Sheep	--	Tarakan (?)	1976(?)
Bamboo	(Tekan Alud)	Malinau	1961

Product	(Lun Dayeh Name)	Source	Year
Bamboo	(Tung Palung)	Lawas	1958
Tree (for living fences)	(Prate)	Marudi (Sarawak)	1969
Oil Palm	(Kelapa Sawi')	Marudi (Sarawak)	1960
Rubber	(Geta)	Lawas	1959

Source: Padoch, 1981.

called Sigar Tadam) and pade Rabai (rice introduced by a woman called Rabai) were brought by two people who are relatively not well known in the community of Ba Kelalan.

Third, innovators among the Lun Bawang cannot be said to be venturesome, and prepared to take a hazardous course or risks. Rather, they become innovators simply for the sake of introducing new ideas and new techniques for their communities. They see nothing to lose from adopting new ideas and techniques, and much to gain if the innovation succeeds. Risk was certainly involved in the establishment of a few village shops in Ba Kelalan, but certainly the village shop owners cannot be said to have taken a hazardous course and a reckless decision to set up the village shops. Most village shop owners consider their trading shop as a side occupation. If the shop fails to make a profit, the owner will abandon the trade; if it prospers he will perhaps expand it.

When an individual makes a trip down to the lowlands he may on his return, bring new crops to introduce to his community. In 1973 a young man from Ba Kelalan was invited to attend a Christian Convention at Batu Malang on the Indonesian Island of Java. While there he saw a type of apple tree which grew in the cool climate in the highlands of Java, a climate very similar to that of Be Kelalan. He brought a few seedlings back to Ba Kelalan and grew them successfully. The Agriculture Department is now experimenting on these apple trees at the Agricultural Station with the idea of introducing the fruit tree to other farmers in neighboring areas. As argued earlier, in all these activities of introducing and adopting new ideas, taking risk and hazardous course or making reckless decision are not a major consideration. New introductions are made on an experimental basis, if they succeed they are more broadly adopted. If they fail, they are simply abandoned.

Several government officers have suspected that the receptivity of the Lun Bawang to new ideas and new varieties of crops is the result of missionairies' influence. However, people in Ba Kelalan say that they were experimenting with new ideas and crops long before the missionaries came into contact with them. This fact is confirmed by Crain (1970) who reports that informants told him that experimentation in new varieties antedates contact with missionairies.

Cooperative Work Groups

The Lun Bawang have several types of work organization which they use in various community activities, especially in farming. These work organizations include the ruyad, musang, ngerupen, ngesul, umum, and peruyung. They are all cooperative work groups, some have more permanent composition of membership than others.

The Ruyud[2]

The ruyud work group is the most common form of labor exchange between farmers or uang ruma. It is formed by a group of farmers who all work on one farm in a day, and then on another the next day, until they have worked on each of the members' farms. The rotation is repeated until the end of the work season. During the scheduled rotation each member of the ruyud reciprocates by giving an equal number of man-days of labor to all the other members. A farmer who owes another some labor is expected to "pay off" his "debt" at the end of the season.[3] Failure to "pay off" would make him liable to public censure by gossip which could be damaging to his honor and reputation as a worthy member of future ruyud groups.

Farmers prefer close relatives and friends in their ruyud group for the obvious reason that such composition results in better working relationships. Most ruyud groups in Ba Kelalan are made up of kinsmen and close friends, and for this reason membership has seldom changed over the years.

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[2] Variously known as pemalui and ruid, but in Ba Kelalan the term ruyud is more popularly used.

[3] "Debt" is paid either in cash or by working for the creditor in other economic activities, such as working in the creditor's grazing ground or in the repair of his rice field bunds.

In the past a ruyud group would normally consist of not less than ten members or uang ruma, but nowadays, membership has dropped to between three to six members. The decrease in size of membership is due to the frequent use of other working arrangements such a musang, ngerupen, and ngumum.

Musang and Ngerupen

Musang and ngerupen are similar in concept and arrangement. Both are agricultural feasts at which the sponsor kills an animal or animals to feed the unpaid workers who are working in his field. However, a musang is less grand and smaller in scale than a ngerupen.

For a musang only the people of the same village are invited to work on the field of the sponsor for a day, and in return for the favor he kills a domestic pig or several chickens to feed the workers. For a ngerupen, people from several villages are invited for the occasion and the sponsor kills a much bigger animal, a buffalo or cow for the participants.

There are two reasons why people hold musang or ngerupen. One reason is that due to either the big size of the farm or the inconsistent attendance of the farmer in the ruyud work schedule, work on his farm could not be completed in the ruyud work schedule. What happens is that after the last rotation of the ruyud work schedule, the farmer might have to sponsor a musang or ngerupen, depending on the amount of work left to be done on his farm. Another reason is simply to enhance one's reputation in the community. The feasts are not only costly affairs, especially ngerupen, but they promote the spirit of cooperation in the community. A sponsor who holds these affairs is, therefore, held in high esteem by the community.

Ngesul

Ngesul is very similar to musang and ngerupen, except that the sponsor is influenced or forced to hold the feast by another family in which one of the sponsor's children is married. To illustrate the operation of this mechanism, let's assume that A and B are heads of two different households.

A's son is married to B's daughter. B notices that there is a lot of work left to be done on A's farm. With or without A's consent, B gathers a group of people to work on A's farm, compelling him socially to kill a pig or several chickens. Ngesul is used to symbolize a special working relationship between two uang ruma related by the marriage of their children.

Umum

Umum or ngumum is a modern concept if Lun Bawang cooperative work organization. It grew out of the S.I.B. church as the main means of getting public donations to the church. The sponsor of an umum, instead of killing animals to feed the workers, donates a sum of money, equivalent to the amount of what he would have spent on musang or ngerupen, to the church, and every uang ruma in the sidang is expected to send one representative to work for the sponsor of the specified day. A uang ruma which fails to send a representative is subject to public censure of gossip, and such uang ruma would lose public respect in the community.

Umum is gaining more popularity than either musang or ngerupen. This is the case because the concept is development-oriented (e.g. to maintain and expand church activities) rather than ritual, as are musang and ngerupen.

Peruyung

The last form of cooperative work group is peruyung, similar to the Malay concept of gotong-royong or mutual help where people work for a common objective. It is used for community projects such as clearing a footpath, repairing a bridge or building a cooperative store. Peruyung is mainly used on rural development projects sponsored by the government to provide for local component development inputs. Similar to the operation of the ruyud group or an umum, a uang ruma which fails to send its representative to a peruyung activity is reprimanded.

Work for Wages

Although wage labor has been practiced by the community from as far back as people can remember, it is not a popular way of getting work done in the community. In the past the lun petabpar (people who do not get enough return from their farming activities to feed their families) sold their labor to other farmers. However, nowadays, because of better communication, people who wish to sell their labor for wages normally go down to the lowlands to get employment in timber camps or rubber estates.

During the writer's period of field observation, a few Ba Kelalan families hired some laborers to work on the rice fields and paid them with cash, but these laborers were Indonesian Lun Bawang and not local people.

Cash Economy

The only groups of people who earn regular cash incomes are civil servants, cooperative store employees, and village shop entrepreneurs. Cash employment in Ba Kelalan is scarce, so that most people can earn cash only by selling whatever they cultivate or raise, or by going down to the coastal towns to look for wage employment.

Occasionally the government may have a few construction projects in Ba Kelalan on which local people can earn some cash income. These projects may involve repair of government offices and quarters, construction of new ones, or providing wood materials for these projects. But these projects provide only temporary jobs for very few people, and are only available at certain times of the year.

When people are desperately in need of money but cannot find any means of getting it in Ba Kelalan, they leave the community to look for wage labor employment in towns, especially in the State of Brunei where wages are much higher than in Sarawak and where laborers are in great demand. Or they may go to work in one of the timber camps or rubber estates near town centres. This temporary migration to urban centres occurs mainly between March and July when there is not much work to be done in the rice fields. When farm activites start in July these farmers come back with a few hundred dollars or with consumer goods they buy with the wage they earn.

However, young people often do not care to come back to the village when the farming season starts. Their stay in urban centres becomes more and more permanent and they come back to the village only for a short visit. Table 7 in Chapter IV shows that twenty-one young people from the community of Ba Kelalan are in tnis category. Their jobs in timber companies are not permanent but these young people show no interest in returning back to Ba Kelalan to work on the farms.

Educated people who have more permanent jobs in towns, for example, government employees or those employed in private companies and firms may stay permanently in urban centres. Occasionally they come back to Ba Kelalan to visit their parents during holidays. People who work in salaried jobs are expected to remit money to their parents and relatives in the village.

Due to this migration to urban centres, there has been a slight decrease in population in Ba Kelalan. In 1972, the population of Ba Kelalan comprised 857 people (Pastor, 1972); in June 1982 the population was 850 people (see Table 5 in

Chapter IV).

Rice as a Cash Crop

Rice is the staple food of the Lun Bawang. As indicated earlier, the main purpose of cultivating rice is to produce for domestic consumption. An average family normally produces, in one farming season, more than enough for the family's consumption until the next harvest season. It is often said throughout Lawas district that an average family in Ba Kelalan produces, in one farming season, sufficient rice to feed the family for two years or two farming seasons.

What do people do with the surplus rice? The Lun Bawang are a hospitable people, and visitors or travellers travelling through their villages are not only fed but given food rations for the rest of their journey. Villages which do not provide generously to visitors or travellers become objects of gossip by neighboring villages.

Because of the increasing demands for cash to buy manufactured goods and for the education of their children, rice has become one source of cash income for the people of Ba Kelalan.

Rice is sold at M$4.80[4] per gantang[5] in Ba Kelalan; in Lawas town the price is M$7.00. Air freight is M$1.50 per gantang, so that the cooperative store and the village shops which buy some of this surplus rice make a profit of 70 cents per gantang. Farmers who have good contacts with the market in Lawas town send their rice directly to the buyers by air, thus avoiding the 70 cent profit the middle-men in Ba Kelalan make.

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[4] U.S. $1.00 = M$2.30.

[5] One gantang = one gallon.

In 1981 the cooperative store bought about 3,120 gantang of rice from local people and sold it to traders in Lawas for a total sum of about M$21,839. There were no statistics on how much rice was exported to Lawas through the private village shops in that year, but it is believed that they traded rice in a much larger quantity.

Private village shops buy a lot of rice in small quantities in exchange for consumer goods which the cooperative store does not do. However, the M.A.S. (Malaysian Airline System) agent at Ba Kelalan estimated that not less than 20,000 gantang of rice were exported to Lawas from Ba Kelalan in 1981 - some of this rice came from across the Indonesian border, in the Kerayan.

During the field work people expressed their fear to the writer that if this trend of selling rice for money continues to increase in volume, some of them might end up with very little rice left for domestic consumption and other social obligations.

Livestock as a Source of Cash Income

Every family in Ba Kelalan raises chickens and pigs.

These animals are mainly raised for domestic consumption, and for slaughter whenever there is a feast, but with the increasing demand for cash, many of these animals are now sold in the market place.

Chickens are either sold to the village shops for M$2.00 per kati[6] or directly to buyers in Lawas for M$3.00 per kati. The cooperative store does not deal in livestock since it has not enough employees to look after these animals before they are marketed down to Lawas. The government runs a feeding scheme for the local Primary School and occasionally the school buys these chickens from the local people at local prices.

Pigs are also sold to the local Primary School at M$3.00 per kati. Sometimes these pigs are walked down to Lawas and sold to Chinese traders. There the seller can sell the pigs at M$3.50 per kati.

The number of buffaloes and cattle in Ba Kelalan are shown in Table 10. As can be seen from the table, there are fewer cattle than buffaloes. Cattle were introduced to Ba Kelalan much later than buffaloes. Cattle are more difficult to raise than buffaloes and they need proper pastures and forages. Buffaloes can feed on any native grass, and require no special feedings. Consequently, most people prefer to raise buffaloes rather than cattle.

Buffaloes are raised for several purposes. They have

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[6] One kati = 1.34 pounds.

Table 10

Livestock Census, 1979

Village	Buffalo M	Buffalo F	Buffalo Total	Cattle M	Cattle F	Cattle Total
1. Long Ubau	3	1	4	-	-	-
2. Buduk Bui	37	58	95	-	-	-
3. Pa Tawing	12	8	20	-	-	-
4. Long Rusu	35	56	91	-	-	-
5. Long Ritan	17	18	35	-	-	-
6. Long Lemutut	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
7. Long Langai	73	67	140	2	5	7
8. Buduk Nur	124	180	304	17	36	53
Total	301	388	689	19	41	60

Source: Department of Agriculture, Ba Kelalan, 1979.

both traditional and economic values.

Traditionally buffaloes and cattle are valued for three main purposes. First, they are used to pay bride-price. Second, they are slaughtered at important feasts. Third, they are used to determine individual wealth.

Nowadays, Buffaloes and cattle have become increasingly valuable as beasts of burden, and a source of cash income for the family. Buffaloes are increasingly used to transport heavy loads, such as firewood, logs, and planks.

Contrary to some government reports, Lun Bawang do not customarily use buffaloes to plough their fields, at least not in Ba Kelalan. However, buffaloes are let loose into the rice fields after harvest to trample the earth, eat the weeds, and defecate on the fields. Buffaloes may be used to transport earth, when building new bunds or repairing old ones.

Buffaloes and cattle are sold at the market in Lawas. To do this, they are walked down to Lawas in groups, and this journey normally takes between ten to twelve days. A few people are hired to walk them down and a fee of M$70.00 per animal is charged to the owner. Sometimes buffalo and cattle traders (also Lun Bawang) go up to Ba Kelalan from Lawas to buy the buffaloes and cattle direct from the farmers.

The price of a buffalo or a cattle at Lawas ranges between M$800.00 and M$1,200. Better price can be gotten if these animals are sold to traders in the State of Brunei. In order to do this the seller must get an export permit from the government. Table 11 shows the export figure for buffaloes and cattle in Lawas district.

An average family in Ba Kelalan has between five and ten head of buffalo and cattle. The greatest single owner in Ba Kelalan has sixty heads of buffalo and cattle.

Non-agricultural Entrepreneurs

Among the non-agricultural entrepreneurs are village shop-keepers. There are twelve village shops in Ba Kelalan, all located at Buduk Nur (Village #8). These shops deal in

Table 11

Export Figures for Buffaloes and Cattle
for Lawas District

Year	Head of Buffalo	Head of Cattle
1971	229	15
1973	576	18
1977	289	3

Source: Lawas District Annual Report 1971 and 1973, 5th Division Agricultural Report 1977, p. 8.

the sale of manufactured goods (cloth, cooking utensils, etc.), imported foodstuffs (sugar, coffee, milk, etc.), building materials, tools, and various small items.

One of the village shops was established earlier than the cooperative store at Ba Kelalan. Since there was no regular air flight to Ba Kelalan at that time, this village shop owner used to get his supplies from the cooperative store at Long Semado, a day's hard walk from Ba Kalalan. The other shops were established after the cooperative store at Ba Kelalan was formed. In fact, these village shop owners were the people who originally promoted the idea of a cooperative society. They were actively involved in the early establishment of the store. Because the constitution of the cooperative store does not allow members to carry on their business establishment, these shop owners had to withdraw their membership from the store as soon as they established their own shops. As expected, these village shop owners came from the rank of the lun mebala or lun do. Supplies for their shops are obtained from Lawas by plane.

Members of the cooperative store resent the fact that these village shops are competing with the store and taking some of its customers away, but are helpless to do anything about it, especially when the policy of the government is to encourage bumiputra to take part in business and commerce.

In their trade with local people, the village shops accept purchase on credit or through exchange of items. The cooperative store does not operate on credit, so that members of the cooperative store are also tempted to go to these shops to get the goods they want on credit or in exchange for non-monetary items they possess, such as . chickens, rice or other valuables.

The Lun Bawang of the Kerayan in Indonesian Borneo are much more isolated from towns than their counterparts in Malaysian Borneo. To get to the nearest trading centre on the Indonesian side of Borneo it takes two weeks of hard walking and then a perilous outboat ride down rapids to the town of Melinau. Although there is an airplane service which brings in supplies from the town of Tarakan for the village shops in the Kerayan, the goods they bring are much more expensive (because of distance) than those available at Ba Kelalan. Besides, there is more variety of goods in Ba Kelalan than in the Kerayan. One can also place an order for goods faster and more efficiently from trading centres on the Malaysian side than on the Indonesian side. Consequently, many Indonesian Lun Bawang come to trade in Ba Kelalan.

The most recent demands of the Kerayan people are for rice mill engines and water supply pipes. These two items serve the community needs of the Kerayan people and are bought by them as a community from traders in Ba Kelalan.

The most popular items the Ba Kelalan traders buy from the Kerayan are buffaloes and cattle. They either keep these animals in their grazing ground or sell them to Lawas at a profit.

As the volume of this trade increases, people in the Kerayan are beginning to feel that the people of Ba Kelalan are draining them of their water buffaloes, cattle, pigs, chickens, ducks, and even their rice. The trade between these two places is obviously to the advantage of the people of Ba Kelalan. Since it is difficult and expensive for Lun Bawang in the Kerayan to order manufactured goods from an Indonesian trading centre, the people of Ba Kelalan have taken advantage of this by naming their own prices for goods they trade with the people of the Kerayan. Consequently, a few of the village shop owners in Ba Kelalan have made considerable profits as middle-men between the Chinese traders in Lawas and the Lun Bawang of Indonesian Borneo.

Efforts to Increase Agricultural Cash Income

To diversify the agricultural economy of the area and to reduce dependence on rice as cash crop, several cash crops have been recommended by the Department of Agriculture as suitable for the area. These include coffee, citrus and various temperate vegetables. The recommendation for these crops was based on two criteria: value/weight ratio of these crops so that transport costs do not absorb too large a proportion of their final value when sold at the market in Lawas; and the nutritive value of these crops for local diets.

However, because of the intricacy of the market system and the problems of long distance transportation by air, these crops have not been grown in large quantity for export out of the community. Tobacco, also because of its light weight, might have been the best crop to grow, but because of the Church's opposition to smoking, government's attempt to introduce the crop in Ba Kelalan was flatly rejected by the people.

These cash crops will probably be cultivated in large quantity in future when there is a motorable road connecting Ba Kelalan with the market in Lawas. In the mean time the people in Ba Kelalan will have to rely on their traditional crop, rice, and livestock as a source of cash income.

Levels of Living in Ba Kelalan

It is difficult to measure the economic performance of people who do not keep records of investment, expenditures, and income. This is the case with the people of Ba Kelalan whose economy is based on a mixture of subsistence and cash, and whose trading system utilizes both cash and produce transactions. However, it is possible to sum up their economic performance by examining their food production and consumption, the condition of the house they live in, and whether other essential needs are adequately satisfied or not.

As mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, the people of Ba Kelalan produce enough to eat as well as some surplus rice to sell for cash. The surplus production is a result of their innovative behavior, efficient irrigation technology, good farm management, and the fact that they devote a lot of their labor to agricultural activities.

To supplement their diets, the people of Ba Kelalan keep plenty of fish in their rice fields as well as in fish ponds. They also grow a large variety of vegetables for domestic consumption. Pigs and chickens are also slaughtered for domestic consumption. Because of their isolation, there is plenty of wild game meat, especially wild boar, deer and mouse deer, that hunters hunt for family consumption. Various kinds of wild vegetables, such as ferns, mushrooms, bamboo shoots, etc. are also plentiful, and these are gathered to supplement their diet.

People in Ba Kelalan are therefore well fed, and are healthy. They are well known as hard workers, and Pastor (1972) attributes their hard working spirit to the mild climate and the robust health of the people.

As mentioned earlier, Ba Kelalan has produced a large number of educated young people who are now working in government service or private firms in the urban centre. Although no data are available on the literacy of the people in Ba Kelalan, it can be assumed that the rate of literacy there is much higher than in most rural communities in Sarawak. The Primary School was established in 1956, and since virtually every household started to send their children to school upon the establishment of the school, people born around 1950 would normally be able to read and write.

By any rural standard in Sarawak, private dwellings of the people of Ba Kelalan are quite modern. A typical house has concrete cement posts, wooden floors and walls and zinc roof. Houses vary in size according to the number of people in the family, but there is often a spacious common room, private rooms for the family members, and sometimes spare rooms for visitors. Their houses are also equipped with a bathroom and clean water, and flush system laterines.

The most common complaint that people in Ba Kelalan make is the limited means by which they could make enough cash income in Ba Kelalan. Apart from surplus rice, buffaloes, domestic pigs, and chickens, the average family has no other local means to earn cash. However, every family has enough cash to buy cloth, cooking utensils, building materials, farming tools, and sometime luxury items such as transistor radios and tape recorders. A few enterprising families have made sufficient money to buy land and even to build houses in Lawas town. Table 12 shows the number of people who have titles to land and houses in Lawas.

Table 12

Number of People Who have Titled Land and a House in Lawas Town

Village	Number of People Having Land	Number of People Having Both Land and Houses
1. Long Ubau	Nil	Nil
2. Buduk Bui	4	3
3. Pa Tawing	Nil	Nil
4. Long Rusu	3	3
5. Long Ritan	Nil	Nil
6. Long Lemutut	1	1
7. Long Langai	6	3
8. Buduk Nur	17	15
Total	31	25

Source: Field survey data, June, 1982.

Some of these lands are planted with fruit trees and cash crops while others are bought as a form of future investment from which the owner hopes to make capital gains when the land is needed, in some distant future, for development purposes. The houses are occupied by at least one member of the families who either has a permanent job in Lawas town or is looking after the fruit trees and cash crops planted on the land.

Summary

Because of their remarkable irrigation technology, the people of Ba Kelalan have produced rice surplus every year. They are among the most isolated of groups in Sarawak. However, despite this isolation, they have shown themselves as one of the most responsive groups in Sarawak to new ideas from outside.

From a community based on subsistence economy, they have transformed Ba Kelalan into a small rural trading centre in upland Borneo. Various varieties of crops and animals have been introduced by them to their community. These crops and animals are mainly cultivated and raised for domestic consumption, but animals such as buffaloes, cattle and pigs are walked down to the market in Lawas for sale. Due to difficult communication with larger markets, most of their agricultural products cannot be sold for cash income.

The greatest problem that these people face is that of difficult communication with the outside world. To overcome their isolation, the people have cooperated in a variety of ways to build community development projects aimed at connecting them with the outside world. Two of these development projects that will be discussed in the next Chapter deal with this very problem of isolation.

CHAPTER VI

RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN BA KALALAN

Introduction

Looking through the government visitor's book in the Upriver Agent's Office, one finds impressions of visitors - government officials and foreign tourists - full of praise for the resourcefulness of the people, their rice fields, buffaloes, airstrip, and the cooperative store. A rural sociologist sums up these improvements very neatly in the following words:

> Place with rice fields, *carabaos* [water buffaloes], landing strip made by local people on *Gotong-Royong* [cooperative efforts] basis. Very impressive! I hope people will continue to develop their resources, a terrific task but, 'where there is a will there is a way'.[1]

In this chapter we shall examine six rural development projects in the area. Specifically we shall look into the local participation and the role of development agents in the implementation of these projects. The six projects chosen for this examination are the airstrip, the multi-purpose cooperative society, the water supply project, and three different agricultural projects. These projects are deliberately chosen for an historical case study because their objectives address directly to important problems in the community.

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[1] Comments made by Dr. Richard L. Schwenk in 1973. Dr. Schwenk is a rural sociologist, and worked among the Iban of Kapit district, 7th Division, for more than ten years until 1980, as a Methodist agricultural missionary.

Project No. 1: The Ba Kelalan Airstrip

Since 1952, the people of Ba Kelalan have built two airstrips. The first one was built at Long Langai (Village #7) at the initiative of the Borneo Evangelical Mission. It was a small strip and could accommodate only a single engine plane. The strip could not be expanded because of lack of space for expansion. Consequently, people had to look for a new site for construction of a new airstrip. A new site was found at Buduk Nur (Village #8). Construction of the new airstrip began in 1967 with government help.

The First Airstrip

As indicated earlier, the idea of an airstrip was proposed by the Borneo Evangelical Mission (B.E.M.). There were two main objectives of establishing an airstrip at Ba Kelalan. The first objective was to enable missionaries to visit Ba Kelalan regularly.[2] The second objective was to provide stimulus to the government to open up an air communication to Ba Kelalan from Lawas.

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[2] Most of the areas in 4th and 5th Divisions of Sarawak, and also in Sabah, which became converted to the Borneo Evangelical Church (B.E.M.) are located in very remote parts of Borneo, and the most efficient way to reach these places is by air. The B.E.M. bought light aircrafts for this purpose and encouraged local people to construct landing strips in their areas. The first landing strip built by the B.E.M. with local people was at Long Atip, in the Baram District of 4th Division (Lees, 1979).

The people responded to the idea very enthusiastically. They realized that an airstrip would mean more contacts with the outside world and the government. The seriously sick could be flown to hospitals in the lowlands, civil servants could come and visit them more often,[3] and possibly goods could be flown between their settlement and urban centres.

Moreover, during World War II, people had seen airplanes in Belawit, in the Kerayan district of Indonesian Borneo. These planes brought in food, medicines, and other supplies to allied forces in upland Borneo. Air communication during the war had a profound impact on the people of upland Borneo, and the idea of having a landing strip in their own village was too good to resist.

When the people agreed to the proposal, the B.E.M. personnel made a journey to Ba Kelalan, inspected the site, and provided the outline of work that was required to be done. In the construction of the airstrip, the B.E.M. provided the technical advice, know-how, and supervision through the B.E.M. pastor at Ba Kelalan. In that job the pastor was assited by the deacons, the pelayan.

The site (the land) selected for the airstrip was donated by a land owner who happened to be a prominent man in the village of Long Langai.

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[3] Before the institutionalization of a regular air service between Ba Kelalan and Lawas, the government used to send its civil servants to visit Be Kelalan by the B.E.M. planes which the government had to charter.

Work on the airstrip was organized on the basis of peruyung, common efforts of everybody in the community. Every able bodied person (men and women) from each household was expected to contribute their free labor to the project. Failure to contribute one's free labor was sanctioned by public gossip.

Work attendances were excellent; every household gave its full labor force to the project. People brought their own working tools, shovels, hoes, picks, and whatever tools they found in their possession. Within three months of hard work, the people completed construction of their own airstrip.

The maintenance of the airstrip was left to the local people. The local pastor and the deacons became the maintenance committee of the airstrip. Whenever repair work was required, the pastor or one of the deacons would make an announcement in the church to get people to turn up to do the repair work.

Government Response Towards the Improvement of the Airstrip

Towards the end of the 1950's, the government indicated that the airstrip at Ba Kelalan would be improved, and that a rural air service would be instituted between Ba Kelalan and Lawas. However, the government did not go through with its proposal, and the people were very disappointed. For instance, in the Lawas District Annual Report for 1959, the District Officer reported that:

> The improvement of the airstrip at Ba Kelalan (as at Bario) raised high hopes among the ulu Muruts [upland Lun Bawang] that they would be given an air service, and indeed it was thought that the Twin Pioneers had been purchased by government for that very purpose. The disappointment was extreme when the Muruts [Lun Bawang] were told that the government had no such immediate intention . . . the more so as the ulu Trusan track was abandoned and hopes of pony transport crumbled.[4]

Despite the lack of serious action from the government, the upland people did not give up hope. In fact, they continued to pressure the government for action, and spoke vociferiously on the subject whenever they found the appropriate occasion to do so. For instance, in the Lawas District Annual Report for 1959, the District Officer wrote:

> This problem [problem of upland air service] is always in the minds of the people and the writer has been conducted to many inaccessible and rugged mountain places where local people are firmly convinced that a strip could be built. Councillors from the ulu [upland] areas have been unremitting both in the District Council and elsewhere trying to obtain government approval for the institution of air service.[5]

The government did promise the people that it was willing to construct a new airstrip for them provided a suitable site was made available. A new site was suggested to the government, but the cost of levelling the gradient was estimated to be beyond the amount the government was prepared to shoulder, and consequently the fund allocated for the project was switched to another project in a neighboring community, at Long Semado. Two District Officers reported on the situation thus:

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[4] J.T. Weekes, Lawas District Half Yearly Report, 1958, (kept at District Office, Lawas).

[5] J.T. Weekes, Sarawak Gazette, October 31, 1959, p. 261.

> No decision has been reached to date but the proposed strip at Ba Kelalan has been investigated. The difficulty in regard to this strip is one of gradient.[6]
>
> . . . since Ba Kelalan will be much more difficult to build it will be sensible to start with Long Semado. Money has been voted in 1961 for Ba Kelalan but the P.W.D. [Public Works Department] will not be able to do the work. As Ba Kelalan will be near impossible without P.W.D. and Long Semado could be built much more easily, I am going to suggest that the money be switched from one to the other.[7]

The Second Airstrip

The people were disappointed with the government's decision of not going ahead with the construction of a new airstrip at the new site suggested at Buduk Nur. However, in 1967, they approached the B.E.M. for help. It complied to give technical advice and supervision.

The B.E.M. personnel came over to Ba Kelalan, measured the site, and gave instruction on what to do in the construction. People pulled themselves together, brought whatever tools they had in their possession, and with the help of the Indonesian Lun Bawang whom the people of

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[6] J.T. Weeks, Lawas District Second Half Yearly Report, 1959, kept at District Office, Lawas.

[7] A.R. Young, Sarawak Gazette, April 30, 1961, p. 65.

Ba Kelalan paid for their labor,[8] a new and bigger airstrip was built. The difficult gradient which the District Officer had reported to be near impossible to level without P.W.D. assistance was levelled by the people with simple tools such as hoes, shovels, and picks. The B.E.M. made a test landing and pronounced the new airstrip suitable.

The government was overwhelmed by the determination of the people. In 1970 the government allocated M$200,000 for the improvement of the airstrip, but as most of the work was already done by local people, the cost of improvement was reduced to a final total of M$87,900.[9]

When the airstrip became a government project, better and more modern tools were supplied to the local work force, including one caterpillar tractor.[10] A team of personnel from the P.W.D. was posted to Ba Kelalan to supervise work on the strip and construction of a terminal building. Local workers were paid wages. In 1979, the government made another allocation of M$50,000 for gravelling of the runway, in which local workers were also employed.

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[8] Ba Kelalan was given M$10,500 by the government for construction of a footpath-cum-bicycle track between the eight villages. This amount of money was supposed to be paid to the villagers who worked on the project. However, after the completion of the projects, the village workers decided not to get the money for themselves. They decided to put it into the community fund which they later used to pay Indonesian Lun Bawang to work with them in the construction of the new airstrip.

[9] The caterpillar was fown to Ba Kelalan by the Royal Malaysian Air Force.

[10] Public Works Department, 5th Division, File Ref. PWL/R2/02.

The airstrip is now the property of the government which employs an Assistant Air Controller and half a dozen daily paid workers (all local people) to do maintenance work.

The Malaysian Airline System makes four trips a week between Lawas and Ba Kelalan, and one trip a week between Bario and Ba Kelalan. The rural air service is now the most important link between Ba Kelalan and the outside world, especially Lawas. Large volume of goods between Lawas and Ba Kelalan is handled through the airstrip. The airstrip has also increased the volume of trade between Ba Kalalan and the Kerayan as people in the Kerayan buy a considerable amount of manufactured goods from traders in Ba Kelalan.

Evaluation of ~~the Project~~

The airstrip brought the government, new ideas and development closer to the people. Indeed, the airstrip is now an indispensible part of life in Ba Kelalan. It has contributed to a lot of change in Ba Kelalan.

To cite a few examples, after the institutionalization of air service to Ba Kelalan, people have been able to sell some of their agricultural produce for cash income. The rural air service has made it possible for people to purchase modern building materials such as cement, zinc roofing, etc., from Lawas for building better houses. The people have also been able to transform Ba Kelalan into a small rural trading centre in upland Borneo.

The success of the project is simply due to the fact that it is a project based on the perception and real experience of the people. Looking through the history of the airstrip, it is evident that the people of Ba Kelalan had struggled hard to convince the government that the airstrip could be built without sophisticated tools or even without government assistance. They were aware of its importance to development in Ba Kelalan, and were prepared to sacrifice their time and labor for its construction.

This sequence of development is a "push from below" by what Young (1970) terms as a "reactive subsystem". For instance, the people in Ba Kelalan were aware that the government had been providing assistance to rural areas to solve their problems. Specifically, they were aware that the government had the funds, the technology, and other resources which could be utilized in the form of assistance to the people to build the airstrip. However, when this assistance was not forthcoming, people felt that they were being deprived of an assistance they felt they had a right to since the government had given other forms of assistance to other rural areas. In order to convince the government that they deserved technical assistance, they went ahead with the construction of the airstrip on their own. This action attracted the attention of the government which eventually complied to provide assistance in the improvement of the airstrip.

Project No. 2: The Ba Kelalan Cooperative Multi-Purpose Society Limited

Origin of the Project

The Cooperative Store was formed because there was no market or store[11] in the area where people could buy goods or sell agricultural products.

The idea of a cooperative store came to the people of Ba Kelalan as early as when they completed construction of the first airstrip for the B.E.M. in 1952. At that time goods between Lawas and Ba Kelalan were transported on foot, an arduous journey of four to seven days one way, or eight to fourteen days to and fro. Trade items were carried on the back, and on the return trip purchased goods were also carried in a similar fashion. Because of the limited weight a person could carry on his back, only very small amount of trade could be carried out in one trip. Indeed, it was impossible to buy and carry on the back heavy building materials such as zinc roofing, cement, iron, etc. Life was difficult for this upland group, and they were determined to do something about it through building an airstrip and the formation of a cooperative store.

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[11] A year before this porposal for a Cooperative Multi-purpose Society, one village entrepreneur in Ba Kelalan had opened a small village shop in Ba Kelalan. Since he ontained most of his items from the neighboring community of Long Samado on foot, his shop was not adequately supplied with goods. Consequently, people decided to combine their resources to open up a cooperative store.

In 1963 when British troops were staioned at Ba Kelalan to guard the border against Indonesian attack, the army camp opened its NAAFI[12] store to the public so that people could purchase or barter trade goods with the army. In fact, such barter trade was encouraged by the British military authorities as tools for psychological warfare to win the hearts and minds of Sarawakians so that they would support the British-sponsored new Malaysian state which the Indonesian government opposed.

During the period of Indonesian Confrontation (1963-1966), the army camp became an important trading centre for the people of Ba Kelalan. People could buy anything they wanted: cement, zinc roof, tools, etc., and the army would order these materials by helicopters from towns in the coastal area.

But people realized that when the British army left, a trading vacuum would be left behind. It was during this time that people discussed the idea of a cooperative store very seriously. Meanwhile, their neighboring community, Long Semado, had established its own cooperative society in 1964. Ba Kelalan could not form one of its own because it did not have a standard rural airstrip. While waiting for a new strip to be built, they joined the Long Semado cooperative society as members. When the British army did finally leave

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[12] NAAFI is the short form for Navy, Army and Air Force Institute.

Ba Kelalan in 1966, Long Semado, one day of hard walking distance from Ba Kelalan, became a useful trading centre for the upland region.

When a rural air service was instituted between Ba Kelalan and Lawas in 1971, after the improvement of the airstrip, the people of Ba Kelalan approached the government for advice on the formation of a cooperative society of their own.

The government agreed to the formation of a cooperative society and the society was registered on June 7, 1971, under the name of Ba Kelalan Cooperative Multi-Purpose Society Limited. At the time of its registration it had 129 members; today its membership has increased to 140.[13]

The community collected the money from members to start a capital fund, formed a committee, built a temporary store for the goods, and selected the employees to look after the store.

Government Technical Assistance

Through the Department of Cooperative Development, the government provides technical assistance and supervision of the management of the store. For instance, the government has provided all the trainings of the store employees. Personnel of the Department of Cooperative Development make regular visits to Ba Kelalan to inspect general progress of business, to see that accounts are properly kept, and to conduct an annual audit. During these visits important issues and problems of the store are discussed with the society's committee and employees.

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[13] Some of these members live outside Ba Kelalan, e.g. civil servants, etc., who are from Ba Kelalan, but live in the urban areas where they work. Sometimes, some households may have two shares in the cooperative store, e.g., a husband and his wife may have their own separate share in the store.

Management and Trading Activities of the Store

The Cooperative Society has a committee of ten members who are elected every two years. All villages are represented on that committee. The committee elects its chairman, vice-chairman, and treasurer; the manager of the store acts as secretary to the committee. The role of the committee is to oversee the management and general welfare of the store and its future direction. However, the commercial success of the store depends very much on the skill and talent of its employees.

The store has three full-time employees and two part-time workers. All of them are local people. The manager is in his late 20's. One of his assistants is in his early 20's while the other is an 18-year-old girl. All three employees had attended secondary school up to the third level. None of them had any work experience prior to their employment in the store, but all of them were given formal training courses in cooperative store management by the Department of Cooperative

Development.[14]

The part-time workers handle out-going and in-coming cargoes to and from the plane. They are also given the responsibility of keeping the compound of the store clean and to carry out minor repairs on the building. The two positions of part-time worker are advertised every year to all members of the cooperative store and the two successful applicants serve in that capacity for only one year.

The cooperative society deals in the sale of manufactured goods (cloth, cooking utensils, etc.), imported foodstuffs (sugar, coffee, milk, etc.), building materials, working implements, and various sundry items. It buys agricultural produce, especially rice, from the village folks, and exports them to Lawas.

However, unlike the village shops it does not carry business on credit or on the basis of exchanging goods for local produce. When the store was first established, people were allowed to buy goods on credit, but its manager had a hard time getting people to pay their debts. To prevent the store from running into financial trouble, the committee abolished the credit system. It was an unpopular move, but one the committee had to take. The store has so far not experienced any decrease in the number of customers buying at the store.

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[14] The manager of the store was given a three month training course on management of cooperative stores by the Cooperative Department at Kuching. His two assistants were also given similar courses at Lawas.

The cooperative store in Ba Kelalan is fortunate in having a large number of customers from the Indonesian side of the border. The upper Kerayan district of Indonesian Borneo is populated by between 8,000 to 10,000 people.[15] They come almost every day to Ba Kelalan for social visits or to trade. The cooperative store usually benefits from these visitors.

The cooperative society is the agent for the Malaysian Airline System at Ba Kelalan. As an agent, the cooperative society receives a 5 percent commission from the sale of airline tickets and cargo freight. The cooperative society is also the government postal agent in Ba Kelalan. For this postal role, the cooperative society receives a commission of M$30 per month from the government.

The cooperative society started with a capital of M$7,505. After ten years of operation its assets in the bank at the end of 1981 were M$20,700 in fixed deposits and M$14,100 in savings accounts.[16] The net surplus for the years 1980 and 1981 were M$6,945.97 and M$7,238.48.

According to the store manager, the average sale per day was M$100. However, whenever there was a festival (e.g.

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[15] Information obtained from officials at the District Office at Long Bawan in the Kerayan.

[16] All these figures were obtained from the Cooperative Officer at Lawas on June 7, 1982.

Christmas festival, school sports, Malaysia Day celebration, etc.), sales went up as high as M$1,000. per day.

Competition from the Village Shops

The main problem that the cooperative store has is competition for customers from the village shops. The business operation of the village shops is flexible: they accept purchase on credit, and they also exchange goods with agricultural produce with their customers. As mentioned earlier, the cooperative society accepts purchase only through cash. This is a disadvantage to the cooperative store in its competition for customers with the village shops.

Four of the village shop entrepreneurs are influential men in the community (they are lun mebala). In fact, one of them used to be the chairman of the cooperative society before he resigned his membership and established his own village shop. Because they are influential in the community and well known to Indonesian Lun Bawang, they are difficult competitors to compete with.

The effect of the village shops on the Ba Kelalan cooperative society can be seen more clearly if the cooperative store is compared with the cooperative store at Long Semado which does not face similar competition. The Long Semado cooperative society was established in 1964, but eight years later, i.e. in 1972, it had accumulated enough money to buy a shophouse in Lawas for M$55,000. It now rents this shophouse to two Lawas businessmen for M$600 per month.

The yearly net surplus of the long Semado store is nearly twice that of Ba Kelalan, but the size of the two communities are more or less the same. In fact, Ba Kelalan has the advantage of Indonesian customers which Long Semado does not have.

Although it is true that people in Long Semado discouraged the establishment of village shops when the cooperative store was started, this was also true of Ba Kelalan when they started their cooperative store. While it was easy to prevent people from establishing village shops in Long Semado, it was not the case in Ba Kelalan. In Ba Kelalan enterprising men are prepared to take risks because there are many Indonesians who want to buy from their shops. However, in Long Semado, the only customers available are the local people, and since virtually all the local people support the cooperative movement, potential village shop owners saw no point in opening up their own businesses.

However, given its advantage over the village shops in the control of the Malaysian Airline System (M.A.S.), better business contacts with Lawas, support from its members, and the flow of Indonesian customers, the board of management is confident that the society will be able to withstand the competition from the village shop.

Future Plans for Expansion and Diversification

The immediate future plan of the cooperative society is to buy a shophouse in Lawas to rent to businessmen there, or for its own future use, when expansion beyond doing business in Ba Kelalan becomes necessary.

It is also planning on two other joint projects with the cooperative store at Long Semado. The first project involves the formation of a joint business agency in Lawas under their own control, and from which both stores could get goods to the highlands. At present, Ba Kelalan gets its supplies from an East Indian middleman while Long Semado gets its supplies from a Chinese middleman. Under the present arrangement a considerable amount of money is lost to the two middlemen in Lawas. By combining themselves as their own agent in Lawas, and thus integrating vertically, they could import goods directly from overseas and avoid paying the middleman to do the same task.

The second project involves competing for the control of the M.A.S. agency in Lawas. Lawas is allowed only one M.A.S. agency which is put on tender to the public every year. Since its establishment, the M.A.S. agency has always been taken over by either one of the two middlemen who supply the goods to Ba Kelalan and Long Semado. Ba Kelalan and Long Semado have never vied for the M.A.S. agency before, but they believe that given the government policies of favoring _bumiputra_,[17] if they combine their resources, they could stand a good chance of getting it from either middlemen. Control of the M.A.S. agency would not only mean extra income from flight commissions between Lawas and these two upland communities, but also other flights between Lawas and other towns in both Sarawak and Sabah.

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[17] _Bumiputra_ literally means "son of the soil". The term is used to distinguish the Malay and all the indigenous groups from the immigrant groups, i.e. the Chinese and East Indian. Under the concept of _bumiputraism_ the Malay and all the other indigenous groups are accorded special rights to opportunities in commerce, trade, service, education, etc. These special rights are enshrined in the Malaysian Constitution, Articles Nos. 89, 135 and 161A.

The Department of Cooperative Development is very supportive of these two projects, but at present none of the employees in either store has any experience of running business in a competitive business community in an urban setting. Although nothing concrete has been planned for these two projects, the Cooperative Department has hinted its advice to the two stores that if they want to expand their business to Lawas town, they should expand their employees, and the more experienced of them could be trained by the department to handle business in a competitive urban setting.

Evaluation of the Project

In terms of output and achievement, the Cooperative Society is a successful project. There are three main reasons for the success of the project.

First, it is a project which reflects the real needs and problems of the people. They realized the problems involved in being isolated from the market, and decided to do something about the problems on the basis of cooperation, i.e. they built a cooperative store.

Second, the innovative spirit and cooperation of the people have contributed a lot to the success of the project. This is particularly true for the reason that the Department of Cooperative Development has had very little success in their efforts at introducing the concept of modern cooperative movement in many rural parts of Sarawak.[18]

Third, the Department of Cooperative Development has given the cooperative store adequate follow-up visits and supervision. During these visits, the department has established a relationship with the people of Ba Kelalan which has helped the process and growth of the cooperative store.

Project No. 3: Rural Health Improvement Scheme (Water Supply and Laterine Projects)

Objectives of the Projects

One of the main objectives of the government rural health scheme is to educate rural people on the importance of personal hygiene, sanitation, and prevention of communicable disease. The task of implementing these objectives is given to the Rural Health Supervisors (R.H.S.) who are employees of the government medical department. Their duties involve travelling to rural areas to discuss rural health problems with rural folks, educate them on personal and environmental hygiene, and help them to undertake health projects. Two major health projects that have been implemented in Ba Kelalan are the piped water supp~~ly and~~ laterines.

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[18] Personal communication with Cooperative Development Officers in Lawas and Kuching.

Specifically, water supply projects are aimed at providing clean water for drinking and cooking, and laterines at providing a more hygienic way of disposing human waste.

In the past, people in Ba Kelalan used to obtain their drinking water from the rivers and streams where both human and animals (e.g. buffaloes and cattle) disposed their waste. Since these rivers and streams were contaminated with human and animal waste which contained micro-organisms, water from these rivers and streams was not safe to drink. In the past, there had been cases of cholera and other diseases suspected of having originated from drinking water from these rivers and streams. The objectives of these projects are therefore addressed to these problems.

Government Assistance

Assistance from the government came in two forms. First, it provided the technical advice, and supervision of the projects through the R.H.S.s. Second, it provided the materials, i.e. the pipes, cements, B.R.C. wire, working tools, etc. for the construction of the projects. The government also provided the cost of transporting these materials from Lawas to Ba Kelalan.

Peoples' Participation

Each household in the community contributed between M$20 and M$60 (depending on the size of the family) towards these projects. This contribution was made to ensure the sincere intent, interest, and concrete commitment of the people to the projects. The people were also expected to contribute their free labor to the construction of the projects.

In every village in Ba Kelalan, every household took an active part in the construction of the projects. Construction of these projects was done on the basis of the traditional concept of peruyung or cooperative efforts of everybody in the community.

The first project was constructed in 1974. By 1978, all the villages in Ba Kelalan had their own water supply and laterines.

All the water supply projects in Ba Kelalan are functioning well. Every village has its own committee which looks after the maintenance and repair of the pipeline and the dam. Minor repairs are done by the village people, but for complicated damage on either the pipes or dam, the R.H.S.s are called upon to help in the repair. Some of the local people become so skillful in pipe work and damming of streams that a few of them have been hired by their Indonesian neighbors to construct water supply lines in the Kerayan area.

Table 13

Water Supply and Laterine Projects in Ba Kelalan

Village	Population	Household	Type of Water Supply	Date Completed	Number of "Pour-Flush" Laterines
1. Long Uban	36	6	PG*	22/11/76	6
2. Buduk Bui	94	26	PG	11/01/75	26
3. Pa Tawing	22	6	PG	10/02/75	6
4. Long Rusu	49	10	PG	21/01/75	10
5. Long Ritan	28	6	PG	25/02/75	6
6. Long Lemutut	54	10	PG	23/08/76	10
7. Long Langai	199	29	PG	18/01/75	28
8. Buduk Nur	256	44	PG	20/03/74	44
9. Buduk Aru Bible School	150	13	PG	09/11/78	13

*PG - Piped Gravity Feed

Source: 5th Division Rural Health Projects, 1980.

Evaluation of the Projects

The overall objective of the Rural Health Improvement Scheme which taught people to be aware of personal and environmental hygiene has had some influence on the people towards accepting the water supply and laterine projects. In terms of the response of the people towards the implementation of the projects and their attitudes towards the maintenance of the projects, these projects are a success.

The obvious reason for the success of these projects is that their objectives address directly to a real problem in the community: the problem of communicable diseases. The projects also provided the people with their needs for clean water.

One minor reason, but which has an economic value on time, is that these projects saved a lot of peoples' time from going down into the rivers and streams to bathe, wash their clothes, or varry water back to their houses for cooking and cleaning.

The part played by the government agents is also a contributing factor to the success of these projects. The R.H.S.s did not only visit the villages to teach people about personal and environmental hygiene, but in the implementation of health projects, they stayed with the people, and worked together with them until the completion of the projects. They also made adequate follow-up visits of these projects.

Project No. 4: Assistance to Padi Planting Scheme

Objectives of the Scheme

The objectives of the scheme are:

> To promote local padi production by encouraging and assisting farmers to open up new suitable swamp lands and improving the existing padi sawahs to wet padi cultivation with proper water usage, and appropriate agronomic practices (Agriculture Department, 5th Division Annual Report, 1977:17).

The objectives reflect the government's sincere desire to encourage shifting padi cultivators to adopt a more sedentary form of farming through wet padi cultivation. The objectives also reflect the government's policy of making the farmers self-sufficient in rice.

As already mentioned elsewhere (see Chapter V), the community of Ba Kelalan practices wet rice cultivation. It is self-sufficient in rice. In fact, it produces surplus harvest every year. However, another objective of the scheme is that it also claims itself to be designed at improving existing wet *padi* fields, i.e. in proper water control, in construction and maintenance of bunds, and in the introduction of fertilizer to increase yield. Consequently, farmers of Ba Kelalan were encouraged to take advantage of the scheme.

Government Assistance

Farmers who applied for this assistance were provided with M$100 worth of working tools and other materials such as spade, *parang* (multi-purpose working knife), *parang bangkok* (another type of knife), *changkol* (hoe), sprayer, sharpening stone, and two rolls of barbed wire. Farmers were provided with technical advice and other forms of assistance from agricultural agents who came to inspect their fields.

Peoples' Participation

Since the introduction of the scheme, quite a number of farmers in Ba Kelalan took advantage of it. Table 14 shows the number of acres of *padi* fields which received assistance through this scheme.

Farmers continued on with their farming activities as they had always done in the past. They cleaned up the water canals, repaired to improve the bunds, and repaired or improved their fences. However, since farmers had always done these types of work in the past, long before the introduction of the scheme, it became evident that the scheme did not really have much of an impact in the farming activities of people in Ba Kelalan.

Table 14

Number of Acres of *Padi* Fields Which
Received Assistance from the
Government Scheme

Year	Acreage
1968	188
1969	202
1971	14
1972	18
1973	15.50
1974	22.50
1975	21
1977	14
1978	27
1979	16
1980	25
1981	15

Source: Agriculture Department, Ba Kelalan.

Evaluation of the Scheme

According to the farmers, the scheme did not teach them anything new. Agricultural agents visited them regularly, but information indicated that they had not much to suggest to farmers in a way of improving their present farming techniques. Farmers reported that the agricultural agents themselves were of the opinion that the existing irrigation system was functioning efficiently. Water control was efficiently managed by the farmers, and bunds were well constructed and maintained by them even without government assistance.

Farmers indicated that some of them did not take the scheme seriously. They applied for the scheme simply to get free tools and materials from the government. Some of these tools were reported to be utilized for a completely different purpose. For instance, the roles of barbed wire were sometimes used to fence grazing ground instead of the rice fields. However, some farmers thought that there was nothing really wrong with that practice, since the material was still used for another type of agricultural purpose.

There was no concrete evidence to suggest that some of these tools and materials were sold by the farmers to other people, especially to Indonesian Lun Bawang. However, information did suggest that because agricultural agents did not keep track of tools and materials they distributed to farmers, it was easy for farmers to sell these tools and materials without being detected.

According to some of the farmers, the scheme has not only failed to help them, but it also brought possible destruction to the work ethic and attitudes of the farmers. In the opinion of the writer, the scheme did not address itself to any particular problem of farmers in Ba Kelalan. Instead, it created a dependency on government aid among some of the farmers.

Project No. 5: Animal Husbandry Improvement Scheme

Objective of the Scheme

The aim of this scheme is to stimulate interest in better animal husbandry practices. The scheme is designed for smallholder farmers who already own animals such as cattle, buffalo, and goats, but require material and technical advice.

Schemes of this nature are of special interest to the people of Ba Kelalan because these animals are one of the main means by which farmers could earn on their terms, large sums of money. It is important to note that Ba Kelalan, together with Long Semado and Bario, have the highest density of livestock population in Sarawak (Pastor, 1972).

However, the techniques practised by these farmers in raising buffaloes and cattle are rather primitive. Some of these animals are let loose in the village compound or open space to roam about freely, even into the jungle. A few farmers, singly or in groups, have their own private grazing grounds which they fence. But apart from providing these animals with an open space to graze on, nothing much is done for their upkeep. Supplementary feeding is not practiced, and the only best thing a farmer could do is to bring his animals to an area where there is plenty of grass. Rotational grazing in the strictest sense is not practiced, but after the harvest season in March, buffaloes are let loose into the padi fields to eat the weeds and grass.

Most farmers know very little about animal diseases and much less on how to cure these diseases. Consequently, survival of these animals has always depended on their natural immunity to fight these diseases.

In view of these problems, this scheme is of special interest to farmers in Ba Kelalan. Although a much more comprehensive scheme was originally suggested for Ba Kelalan, Long Semado, and Bario (which included pasture improvement and rotational grazing), that scheme was never implemented. Instead, the present scheme - the animal husbandry improvement scheme - was adopted.

Government Assistance

Farmers were given technical advice by veterinary officers and assistance in kind valued at M$500. The materials provided by the government under this scheme included barbed wire for fencing, zinc roof, and wooden posts for building shelters for the animals.

Peoples' Participation

Since the introduction of the scheme, only nine farmers became recipients of the Scheme (see Table 15). For an area which shows so much interest in cattle and buffalo raising, the number of participants in these scheme is very low indeed. This low figure does not necessarily mean that there is a lack of response from the farmers toward the scheme. There are three reasons why there are so few participants in this scheme in Ba Kelalan. First, many farmers cannot meet the scheme requirements of two acres of land per animal. Second, some lands are under doubtful

Table 15

Number of Farmers Who Received Assistance from the Government Under the Animal Husbandry Scheme

Village	Number of Recipients
1. Long Ubau	Nil
2. Buduk Bui	2
3. Pa Tawing	Nil
4. Long Rusu	1
5. Long Ritan	1
6. Long Lemutut	Nil
7. Long Langai	1
8. Buduk Nur	4
Total	9

Source: Agriculture Department, Ba Kelalan.

ownership, and the policy of the government is not to give any assistance to a farmer if his ownership of the land is in doubt. Third, farmers may have the land but it may be located far from the village, and perhaps surrounded by primary jungle. Such farmers are unable to participate in this scheme because to start an animal husbandry scheme in an isolated area is not only risky (in terms of protection from possible theft and attack by wild animals), but also uneconomic due to large amount of time and energy involved in raising animals under such conditions.

Individualization of communal grazing grounds has created a lot of functions and disputes between individuals, especially between close relatives. Although land disputes have always been part of life in Ba Kelalan, agricultural schemes have increased the number of these disputes. Every time the agriculture department introduces a new scheme, people begin to lay claims to idle land. In the words of one farmer, "agricultural schemes have turned a lot of people greedy, and there is a lot of suspicion and jealousy between individuals."

If the frictions and disputes between individuals are put aside, the animal husbandry improvement scheme can be considered a success. It was discovered during the field work that unlike the attitudes of farmers towards the padi assistance scheme, recipients of the animal husbandry improvement scheme took the scheme very seriously. Grazing grounds were properly fenced with the barbed wires, shelters were built for the animals, fodder grass was planted, and the animals were given supplementary feeding. Some farmers who were not recipients of the scheme was also improving their method of raising their animals through the advice of agricultural agents and by imitating some of the things that the scheme recipients were advised to do by the veterinary officers.

Evaluation of the Scheme

The objectives of the scheme have been correctly addressed to the real needs and problems of the people. First, bovine meat is much in demand in the urban centres, especially in the State of Brunei, and farmers can get good prices for their buffaloes and cattle. Since buffaloes and cattle are one of the main means of getting cash income in Ba Kelalan, and a viable trading item (because these animals could be walked down to Lawas without much trouble) for this isolated community, local farmers are putting much effort into improving their methods of raising these animals.

Second, the farmers had two main problems with their traditional methods of raising their animals. One of these problems was that they did not know how to prevent or cure the diseases of their animals. The other was simply that they wanted to improve their husbandry practice. Under the traditional practice, the animals were not given proper feedings. This had an adverse effect on the health of some of the animals. The scheme was a much needed assistance by the farmers. Primarily because of these reasons, the scheme turned out to be a considerable success.

Project No. 6: The Sugar Cane Scheme

Objectives and Origin of the Scheme

The scheme is designed to help interested farmers to produce their own sugar and reduce their expenditure on manufactured sugar from the urban trading centres. According to the manager of the cooperative society, Ba Kelalan buys approximately 10,000[19] *kati*[20] of manufactured sugar from Lawas per year. Manufactured sugar costs M$2.00 per *kati* at Be Kelalan. Because of the high price of sugar in Ba Kelalan, it was thought that it would be better for the people to make their own sugar.

The idea of the sugar cane scheme was originally initiated by the government. After a few years of meetings and discussions between the local people and agricultural agents, 30 farmers decided to participate in the scheme.

Government Assistance

The land on which the scheme participants planted the sugar cane was provided by the government. A subsidy of M$100 per acre was given to each participant in kind. The government also provided one sugar cane crusher machine to the farmers jointly for processing the sugar cane. The scheme was supervised by the local agricultural agent at Ba Kelalan.

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[19] This amount is for consumption of both people in Ba Kelalan and Indonesian Lun Bawang across the border.

[20] One *kati* is approximately 1.34 pounds.

The location of the land was quite isolated from the villages of the farmers. It was located at Long Burak, near the Buduk Aru Bible School, and surrounded by primary jungle. The nearest village to the location was one hour of walking distance, while the furthest village was three hours of walking distance.

Peoples' Participation

The scheme was supposed to have been implemented in 1976, and 45 acres were made available to farmers who were interested. But it was not until 1980 that 30 farmers volunteered to plant 27 acres of sugar cane on a piece of land made available to them by the government. Table 16 shows the number of participants in the scheme.

Most farmers did not look after their sugar can satisfactorily. The participants complained that the location of the scheme was too far from their villages. They were also busy with many other activities and they did not find enough time to devote their attention to the scheme.

The scheme also suffered from lack of organization. Although a committee was set up to organize activities, it experienced a lot of difficulty in getting people to come together and discuss their plans. As is clear from Table 16, the participants in this scheme were scattered in different parts of the valley, in their respective villages.

Table 16

Number of Participants in the Sugar Cane Scheme

Village	Number of Farmers	Acreage	Points Planted	Subsidy
1. Long Uban	3	2	9,680	$ 200
2. Buduk Bui	7	6	29,040	$ 600
3. Pa Tawing	2	1.50	7,260	$ 150
4. Long Rusu	2	2	9,680	$ 200
5. Long Ritan	1	1	4,840	$ 100
6. Long Lemutut	4	4	19,360	$ 400
7. Long Langai	10	9.50	45,980	$ 950
8. Buduk Nur	1	1	4,840	$ 100
Total	30	27	130,680	$2,700

Source: Agriculture Department, Ba Kelalan.

The sugar canes were due for harvest in early 1982, but farmers said that only a few of them have harvested their crop. The reason given for the other farmers not turning up to harvest their sugar cane was that they were busy with other activities. However, on close scrutiny it became evident that a few of them had lost interest in the scheme.

Evaluation of the Scheme

As is obvious from the description of the participation of the farmers in the scheme. their response to the scheme was not enthusiastic. The scheme was initated by development agents based on their perceptions of the community needs. Although Ba Kelalan depends entirely on manufactured sugar from Lawas, producing their own sugar in Ba Kelalan is not perceived by the people as a development priority. Indeed, some of the participants said that they could not see how a small sugar cane scheme, located far from their villages, could benefit them economically. However, the scheme is relatively new, and the first harvest was only done a few months before this research was conducted. It is still too early to judge the success or failure of the scheme.

CHAPTER VII

SIGNIFICANT FACTORS IN THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROCESS OF BA KELALAN: AN ANALYSIS

It is stated in Chapter II that the government of Malaysia has two separate approaches to rural problems in its rural development program. The first approach is directed towards already populated areas; the second approach is done through the establishment of new settlements, as in Land Settlement Schemes.

The projects described in Chapter VI fall within the first category of the program. Ba Kelalan received projects in the forms of infrastructure and agricultural subsidy schemes. The objectives of these projects are to provide or improve rural amenities, and to improve existing methods of agricultural cultivation. Samples of these projects are found in Appendices I and II.

In the implementation of these projects, the strategy adopted by the government is that of cooperative efforts between the government and the people. The government provides the knowledge, technology, tools, and materials while the local people provide the manpower, labor, and other local resources.

The response of the people in Ba Kelalan towards development was generally positive. In fact, in a few of the development projects sponsored by the government, local participation in project implementation was excellent. In this Chapter, we shall examine the dynamic process of these development efforts in Ba Kelalan.

In the first part of this Chapter, we shall discuss sociological characteristics of the community of Ba Kelalan which seem to have facilitated the success of rural development activities there. In the second part, we shall analyze the positive characteristics of the government development agency and its development program.

Part I:

Sociological Attributes of the Community with Positive Impact on Rural Development

The success of most of the rural development projects in Ba Kelalan can be attributed to the remarkable cooperation, innovativeness and self-reliance of the people. In addition to these, the community has an effective leadership pattern which is able to mobilize people towards their own development.

Cooperation

As described in the social organization and economic activities of the community of Ba Kelalan, most of its social and economic activities are organized on the basis of cooperation. The people of Ba Kelalan have several forms of cooperative work groups which they have successfully utilized to organize modern development activities in their community.

There are several factors which brought about cooperation of the people in this community. These include the integration, the solidarity, the isolation, the traditionalism and the homogeneity of the community.

Integration

Integration has been defined in a sociocultural context as "patterned ways of acting among people who share at least some common sentiments" and disintegration as "the breakdown or disruption of interrelationship of these patterns" (Leighton, et al., 1963). An integrated social system is marked by a well-coordinated interaction between members, especially interactions directed towards the pursuit of common goals.

It has been suggested that an integrated community is easier to link with government in a cooperative effort towards development than a community which is not integrated. For instance, in their study of responsive and non-responsive villages to community plantations in Eastern Nigeria, Smock and Smock (1972:210) found that one of the characteristics of the responsive villages is their integration.

However, in the process of change and development, some societies lose their integration while others do not. In his study of the rural Bidayuh community of Sarawak, Grijpstra (1976) reports that some of the villages had become disintegrated in the process of change and development. Change in agricultural systems (from subsistence farming to cash crop cultivation) and the mode of residence (from longhouse to detached houses), and adoption of modern education and Christianity are some of the reasons he gives for this loss of community integration. Consequently, he says that it was difficult to mobilize people to cooperate and work on community projects.

The Lun Bawang went through a process of cultural disintegration between 1884 and 1935 (Deegan, 1973). However, between 1935 and World War II, the society redeemed itself from that situation and became well integrated. The integration of the Lun Bawang community is based on common sentiments towards their cooperative work groups, their villages, their church congregations, and finally, their community. Through these networks of relationship (the cooperative workgroups, the villages, the church congregations, and the community), people can easily mobilize themselves towards their own development. As is evident in the descriptions of their social organization, their economic activities, and the case study of various development projects, the cooperative efforts of the people have always been organized on the basis of these networks of relationship.

Solidarity

The Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (1973:1106) defines solidarity as a "unity (as in a group or class) that produces or is based on community of interests, objectives, and standards". However, Galjart (1973) perceives solidarity as "the propensity to sacrifice resources or future satisfactions for the well being of others, because of a feeling of togetherness" (quoted in Grijpstra, 1976:9). It is also perceived that "feelings of solidarity are an important basis for the maintenance of social order and social integration in any social group" (Hunter and Whitten, 1976:363).

Dore (1971) says that one of the factors that can help traditional societies transform their cooperative spirit into modern form of cooperation is cohesive solidarity. For example, in Japan, cooperatives of modern types have been built successfully on the basis of what a hundred years ago were traditional communities. Dore argues that the success of these cooperatives is due to their group solidarity. One of the factors which brought about group solidarity in the Japanese farming communities is their "hostile" environment. Because of the nature of the geography of Japan - being a group of small islands and isolated - people have nowhere else to go but to stay where they are. Farming in Japan is dependent on irrigation which in turn is dependent on cooperation. If cooperation ceases, the water ceases to flow, the rice ceases to grow, and people will starve. Consequently, people cooperate, village solidarity is built, and a cooperative society is formed. Dore argues that when people realize the benefit which such process of action brings to the common good of all, they become loyal to the group, and are more receptive to new ideas and innovations.

As is evident in Ba Kelalan, cohesive solidarity has helped in inhabitants to cooperate in the development of their community: for instance, in agricultural development, the construction of two airstrips, the formation of a cooperative society, etc. What are some of the factors which helped solidify the people of Ba Kelalan to cooperate in the development of their community?

Geographical isolation has played a major role in group solidarity among the Lun Bawang of upland Borneo. In historical time it was geographical isolation which forced the people to cooperate in the irrigation of the river valleys into wet padi fields. It was impossible for the inhabitants to get iron from the coast for use in clearing the jungle for shifting cultivation, in the fashion of the other indigenous groups on the island of Borneo, and consequently, bamboo and sago palm trees were shaped into working tools which they used to dig up the river valleys into wet padi fields. Irrigation facilities became the property of the community. They were used in common by every farmer, but operated in cooperation with other farmers. Through the system of labor-exchange, every farmer was "tied" to a cooperative work group. This system of organizing activities did not only provide sociability to farmers or provide the means of avoiding the monotony of working alone in one's field, but it also promoted group solidarity.

This solidarity which promoted traditional cooperation among the Lun Bawang has been successfully transformed into modern forms of cooperation in Ba Kelalan. An example of this is the formation of a modern cooperative society, the Ba Kelalan Cooperative Multipurpose Society.

Traditionalism

Traditionalism here is viewed from the perspective of Tonnies' (1956) gemeinschaft society and Redfield's (1953; 1960) folk culture or folk society. In Tonnies' and Redfield's construction, a folk society is small, isolated and homogenous. It is a society where relationships are primary, and where members of the society adhere to "values, beliefs, rules, and behavior patterns that are shared by a group and passed on from generation to generation" (Hunter and Whitten, 1976:139).

When people cooperate frequently with each other in matters of daily life and agricultural production, some sense of intimacy naturally develops between them in their interactions. Often this behavior or attitude generates group solidarity. Sociologists categorize such behavior or attitude as community-like of folk-like.

In folk-like society, it is often assumed that there is greater trust between people and greater harmony, and that a rural community which still has this folk-like values has a greater chance for cooperation in its development activities than one which is not. In their survey of responsive and non-responsive villages to community plantations in Eastern Nigeria, Smock and Smock (1972:210) found that the responsive villages tended to be isolated and displayed folk-like characteristics. The non-responsive villages had greater urban contact and greater numbers of people migrating to urban centres. According to Smock and Smock (1972:210), the reasons for the positive response of the folk-like villages to the community plantations were that:

1. there was a greater amount of trust between the people (they could trust somebody in the village with the handling of community funds) in the folk-like villages than those that were not; and
2. there was greater harmony, and hence, greater capacity for cooperation in the folk-like villages than those that were not.

Ba Kelalan is largely a subsistence farming community. It is a community where everybody does more or less the same kind of job, share more or less the same standard of living, and where most economic activities are organized on the basis of cooperation. Although it is now possible for farmers to engage laborers to work on their farms and pay the laborers cash wages, the traditional method of labor-exchange, the sponsoring of agricultural feasts such as musang, ngerupen, and donating money to the church through umum in order to get the whole community to work as a group on the farm of the person sponsoring the event, are still popular.

There is a strong sense of community belonging in Ba

Kelalan expressed through membership in cooperative work groups, ruyud participation in agricultural feasts, musang ngerupen, ngesul, and other similar events such as umum and peruyung. It is also expressed through membership in one of the three churches in the community. The norms and values of the community are traditional or folk-like. For instance, interactions between members are personal, based on trust and cooperation. The people are strong in their religious beliefs. These characteristics helped the promotion of cooperation among the people of Ba Kelalan.

Homogeneity

The Lun Bawang who inhabit mainly the northern part of central Borneo are a homogeneous group in terms of language, culture, economic system, political organization, religious beliefs, and ecology. The inhabitants of Ba Kelalan are all Lun Bawang, and consequently it is a homogeneous community. They have occupied the Kelalan valley since time immemorial and went through the same process of historical experience. This uniqueness of experience has made it possible for the people of Ba Kelalan to conform or respond to change and development together as a group rather than as individuals.

Perhaps the most important event in which Lun Bawang have responded, as a group, to change, is the conversion of virtually the whole group to Christianity. Even that conversion was restricted to one type of Christianity (evangelical Christianity) rather than to several denominations of the Christian church. It is often said that the most important factor which unites the Malay of Malaysia, as a community and as a dominant political force in that country, is Islam. The same can be said of the Lun Bawang where Christianity performs the same function of uniting them as a cultural group in Sarawak's plural society. It should not be a surprise then that a community as homogeneous and as conformed as Ba Kelalan has had no problem in mobilizing its inhabitants to work as a cooperative group in community projects.

Another unique feature of the Lun Bawang of upland Borneo is that they occupy these isolated areas all by themselves without much interference or influence from outside or other ethnic groups. This isolation has made it possible for local people to have control of their own affairs and to shape the destiny of their own development by themselves.

Other communities are not as lucky. For instance, the Bidayuh community of the 1st Division of Sarawak have found themselves sharing the same environment with other groups more numerous, powerful, and aggressive than they are. Unable to withstand the pressure from outside, rural Bidayuh communities became disintegrated (Grijpstra, 1976:54). Individual Bidayuh lost their confidence in their own social system to promote progress and development in their community and, consequently, they began to look outside for other alternatives. Proximity to the state capital made other alternatives such as oash crop cultivation and salaried employment easily accessible, but in the process of opting for these alternatives it divided the Bidayuh rural community in terms of lifestyle and other value systems - the "moderns" from the "traditionals", the cash crop cultivators from the subsistence farmers, and the Christians from the non-Christians (Ibid., 1976:141).

This division left an economic inequality of a permanent nature in Bidayuh villages. The successful innovators became objects of envy of the rest of the villagers, and they detached themselves more and more from the rest of the community. While the successful innovators enjoyed the fruit of their success, kinship ties weakened and individual responsibility for the welfare of the group declined.

This finding contrasts somewhat with the writer's observation of the Lun Bawang of Ba Kelalan where development projects oriented towards the common good of the community have more success than the hand-out projects distributed to individual farmers. One of the reasons for the success of development projects oriented towards the common good of the community in Ba Kelalan is the power and influence of the local church to get every community member to conform to the norms of society. Commenting on the powerful influence of the church in Lun Bawang society, a colonial district officer wrote:

> The recent influence of the Mission is so powerful . . . the village pastor is heard at all times and permeates every detail of village life. The lower rank of the

> government hierarchy need drastic strengthening unless temporal government is to yield in surrender to sectarian theocracy.[1]

As mentioned earlier, the church is one of the most important institutions in the community of Ba Kelalan which binds the community together. The church building is not only a place where people meet for worship, but also a place to meet friends, exchange information, and discuss community activities.

The church emphasizes cooperation and mutual help between community members, not only as an ideal Christian way of helping one another, but as the strength of their community. The ability of the church to influence the perception of community members to perceive the reality of their community this way has made it possible to mobilize people to cooperate in many development activities.

Innovativeness

The most documented tribe in Borneo which has been described as very innovative are the Iban. The Iban have been designated as flexible and opportunistic in their technologies (Sutlive, 1978). In their obsession for migration (in search of virgin jungle to farm) and bejalai, traditional journeying beyond the village boundary, young men have travelled to other parts of Borneo and beyond, in search of traditional objects of value - Chinese ceramics, brassware, etc. - and most recently to obtain cash by wage labor (Freeman, 1970; Jensen, 1966; Padoch, 1978). According to Sutlive (1978), the Iban who moved to the plains, near the town of Sibu in the 3rd Division emulated the Chinese gardeners, farmers, and businessmen, and are today successful rubber and pepper gardners, wet padi planters, and owners of village shops.

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[1] Second Half Yearly Report of Lawas District, 1957, kept at District Office, Lawas.

Proximity to market centres of most Iban groups makes it unsurprising that they readily accept new innovations and opportunities. However, Padoch (1981:55) suggests that "the designation of perhaps the most opportunistic, most changeable group of interior Borneo belong not to the well-known Iban, but instead to Lun Dayeh [Lun Bawang]."

Although the innovativeness of the Lun Bawang of Ba Kelalan does not fit neatly into Rogers' (1962:169-171) ideal types of innovators and adopters of innovation, some characteristics of these ideal types are found among them. For instance, their positive attitude towards development, new ideas, innovators and agents of change, and their geographical mobility.

Positive Attitude Towards Development

The attitude of the Lun Bawang towards development is positive. They are eager to try new ideas. This eagerness to try new ideas is one of the characteristics of innovators (Rogers, 1962:169). The Lun Bawang are not suspicious of innovators, but respect them. This is evident in the naming of crop varieties after the names of persons who introduced them. Respect of peers towards innovators or adopters of new ideas has also been indicated as one of the characteristics of a community which consists of many early or fast adopters of new ideas (Ibid., 1962:170).

The attitude of the Lun Bawang towards the role of the government in development is also positive. In terms of development, they perceive the government as an organization that should provide the leadership, ideas, knowledge, technology, and materials. They also believe that work should be done by the people themselves, and the government to provide the technical advice and guidance.

Geographical Mobility

As mentioned earlier, geographical mobility, especially mobility into more cosmopolitan areas, is one of the characteristics of innovative groups (Rogers, 1962:169). When travel to coastal towns became a consuming passion for the Lun Bawang (especially after World War II), they, very much in the fashion that the Iban did for their community, brought back to their villages new ideas and new crop varieties. At the beginning of this century the Lun Bawang used to travel down to the town of Trusan to buy buffaloes and cattle from the Malay, but nowadays the Lun Bawang are one of the main suppliers of these animals in Sarawak. Other animals such as goats, various breeds of pigs, ducks, chickens, and new varieties of crops, plants, and fruit trees, including apple, have been introduced to the uplands and very well received by the inhabitants.

People accept new ideas and new varieties because it is the fashionable thing to do. It makes them feel more like their neighbors, and part of the community. Their acceptance of new innovations and new varieties is very much like their acceptance of Christianity and education. Since their neighbors accepted Christianity and sent their children to school, they felt out-of-place in the community if they did not become Christians or send their children to school. This uniformity of thoughts, attitudes, norms, and values have made it a lot easier for the Lun Bawang community to adapt to change as a community, rather than as individuals.

Self-Reliance

One of the objectives of the Malaysian rural development program is to promote in the rural people the spirit of self-reliance. The main aim of the government is to reduce the amount of dependency among rural people on government aid, especially on hand-out projects. In fact, self-reliance is considered by many community development workers as an important aspect of the development process. Spiegel (1980:230) suggests that "Perhaps more than any other professionals, community development workers should be able to help organizations become self-reliant. . . ." Stressing the importance of self-reliance, Morgan writes that "attention should be given to the need for maintaining self-reliance and autonomy in many respects as would be feasible" (Morgan, 1957:60).

One of the characteristics of the Lun Bawang of Ba Kelalan which helped them in their development efforts is their spirit of self-reliance. This spirit of self-reliance is evident in their construction of two landing strips in Ba Kelalan, the establishment of their own cooperative store, their initiative in introducing new agricultural varieties to their community, and the maintenance of government-sponsored development projects such as the water supply and laterine projects.

As Spiegel (1980) indicates, self-reliance is not an easy process to build in people. For the Lun Bawang, self-reliance was built in the community through a process of social change and historical experience. One colonial District Officer suggests that conversion of the Lun Bawang to Christianity and "pride in their war record" during World War II have had a marked influence on their self-reliance.

Prior to their conversion to Christianity, the Brooke government considered the Lun Bawang incapable of improving and developing themselves. However, conversion to Christianity and participation in World War II got the Lun Bawang involved in many group or community efforts, e.g. in church affairs and in guerilla activities during the war. These activities have had some considerable influence in building up their self-reliance.

Coming out of the war on the winning side, they found themselves respected by their country. The satisfaction they got from this attention made them feel positive about themselves. They realized that they were a group to be reckoned with, and they also felt positive about their own capacity for self-development.

Nature of Social Stratification and Community Leadership

The Lun Bawang are loosely stratified into at least three different strata, and that mobility from one stratum to another is possible. The upper stratum is no longer strictly identified with those born in "artistocratic" families, but with individuals who have proved their qualities in economic success, intelligence, and leadership. Although status is inheritable, one could lose or gain status depending on one's performance in society. The social structure provides competition for better status through personal achievement rather than through ascription.

The church also provides positions, such as pelayan, in Lun Bawang society where one could show one's talent for leadership, intelligence, and economic success. Because these positions require the holders to perform voluntary work for the church community, people who fill them are expected to be economically well off.

Although the Lun Bawang social stratification is not as rigid as those found among the Malay, Kayan, and Kenyah, their society is not as egalitarian as those of the Iban and

Bidayuh. However, the existence of a stratification system where the highest level could be obtained through personal qualities provides an incentive to individuals aspiring for that level to improve themselves economically as well as in terms of other qualities. This, in turn, enables better candidates (normally from the upper stratum) to emerge from the community for selection to the post of community leaders. The penghulu, community leader of Ba Kelalan is a good example. Although not born in a traditional lun mebala family (well known family from the upper stratum) he has achieved that status through economic success (he has the greatest number of buffaloes and cattle in Ba Kelalan), intelligence, and leadership in various community activities as a young man growing up in the community. Because of this he was selected from among a number of candidates and appointed by the government, in consultation with the people, to become a community leader of Ba Kelalan. Among the Kayan and Kenyah, selection of such community leader is restricted to the ruling aristocratic maren group where recruitment into that group is through birth. The power of influences of the leader is sanctioned by his maren status in society. Although leaders among the Iban and Bidayuh are normally selected from influential families which are economically well off, the egalitarian nature of these societies makes the position of the community leader more vulnerable to open challenge by community members, as has been indicated by Grijpstra (1976:107-108) for the Bidayuh community.

The advantage that the Lun Bawang community leader has is that because he is selected from the upper stratum, that stratum draws respect to his leadership. However, because that stratum is gained or retained through personal quality and economic success, the community leader can justify his leadership as being earned through personal merit (as is the case with the Iban and Biduyah) rather than simply by virtue of being a member of a particular stratum (as in the case of the Kayan and Kenyah).[2] In that situation the Lun Bawang have avoided the authoritarian nature of leadership found in some stratified societies and the weaknesses that leadership experiences in some societies that are egalitarian. Consequently, the position of the community leader in Lun Bawang society is that of an institution that draws respect rather than fear, influence rather than open challenge from community members. It is that image of leadership that has made it possible to mobilize the community of Ba Kelalan towards its development goals.

Social Articulation

Another reason for the success of many development activities in Ba Kelalan is the successful incorporation of the community into a larger system, namely the District Office system. The successful incorporation of the community into a larger system is largely the result of effective leadership in the community, peoples' participation in local, state and national affairs, and their control of their own affairs at the community level.

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[2] Personal knowledge of the writer. He spent four years as a civil servant among the Kayan and Kenyah of Belaga district, 7th Division from 1971 to 1974. See also Rosseau, 1973:107.

According to Grijpstra (1976:5):

> If the headman is a dynamic personality, accepted by his people, this is likely to increase the quality of the village's representation with outside organizations, as well as in a smooth implementation of projects which the villagers cooperatively have to contribute their labour and other resources.

As indicated earlier in this thesis, the Tua Kapung and Penghulu of Ba Kelalan are not only respected by the people, but that they are able to interact with development agents effectively, on behalf of the community.

As also mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, there are a few opinion leaders in Ba Kelalan. These opinion leaders are quite articulated. They visit urban areas quite often and some of them are well known to development agents. In fact, it is mainly through these opinion leaders that new ideas find their ways to Ba Kelalan.

The social articulation of the community with the outside world has made it easy for the community to adapt to change and development. However, despite all the connections of the community with outside organizations, the community is left in control of its own affairs, including development activities.

Part II

Characteristics of the Government Development Bureaucracy which Facilitated Rural Development Process in Ba Kelalan

FAO (1978), Richter (1979) and others have suggested that in order for the government development agency to reach the people with its development program, the agency must have a well-coordinated development machinery, adequate personnel to man the machinery, and sufficient funds to finance the program. Structurally the state development machinery is well adapted for coordination of development activities at all levels of administration: state, divisional, and district. At the district level, the District Development Committee (District D.C.) has been quite successful in coordinating implementing departments and the people in development activities. Coordination of activities at district level is maintained through regular meetings of the District D.C., filling of board charts, the Red Book, and inter-departmental minuting; and at the village level through village meetings, supervision of projects by development agents, and working together with villagers on the project site.

Most government departments were reasonably staffed, although a few seemed to have been understaffed. The District Office was short of Sarawak Administrative Officers. But by Sarawak's standard, the three administrative officers, including the District Officer himself, were academically well-qualified. They did well in coordinating development activities in the district.

The Public Works Department and the Department of Cooperative Development were understaffed, but their personnel were appropriately well-trained for their tasks. The staff which manned the rural health program in the Medical Department was also appropriately well-trained for their rural health program.

The Agriculture Department was almost the only department in the district that was well-staffed. Although all its officers were adequately trained for their specific tasks, that of introducing new and better techniques to farmers, or helping them improve their present method of cultivation, etc., the department has not been quite successful in some of its agricultural projects in Ba Kelalan (to be discussed in some detail later).

Approved development projects were sufficiently supplied with funds and materials, including freight cost of materials to the project site. However, some departments had experienced inadequate Transport and Travelling (T and T) fund for use in sending their officers to implement projects given under their supervision. This delayed implementation of some projects until the departments were replenished with T and T funds.

Interaction Between the Government Development Agency and the Community

In the reformation of the Malyasian administrative system, it was emphasized that government officers involved in development work were required to visit rural villages frequently (Esman, 1972). The purposes of these visits are to obtain grassroot knowledge about rural communities and to establish a pattern of interaction with rural people.

Despite the remoteness of Ba Kelalan, the community was regularly visited by government officers. These visits became more regular and frequent after the institutionalization of an air service to the area.

During the writer's six-week stay there, not a single week went by without a visit from government officials. During his first week in Ba Kelalan, officials from the Malaysian Information Service came over to show films. These films were educational and informative, and showed the different ways of life in Malaysia as well as government sponsored development activities in the country. Other films on development in other parts of the world were also shown. In that same week a government state minister also came to visit the place. Officials from the Information Service who were already in the area on official visit organized a dialogue session between the people and the minister together with civil servants who accompanied him.

Other officials who came to visit the area during that six-week period came from the Education Department, Agriculture Department, Medical Department, District Office, and the Police Department. Each official came for a specific purpose, but all of them met with the people to discuss community activities.

According to information obtained from both the people of Ba Kelalan and civil servants at Lawas, development agents visited Ba Kelalan for three main purposes. First, to conduct feasibility study of project requests; second, to supervise the implementation of development projects; and third, to inspect the progress or the maintenance of development projects.

Feasibility study of project requests is carried out for two main purposes: to determine the appropriateness of the project to the community; and to ascertain the participation of the people in the implementation of the projects. From the mini-case study of six development projects in Ba Kelalan, two of the projects were given comprehensive feasibility study. The two projects were the cooperative store and the water supply projects.

However, not all the development projects in Ba Kelalan were given feasibility study by development agents. The projects which were not given feasibility study were the agricultural hand-out projects.

From the mini-case study, it was also evident that in the implementation of development projects, development agents were present at the project sites to supervise and to give technical advice to the local people, until the completion of the projects. These development agents also carried out follow-up visits to inspect the progress of the projects and to see that they were properly maintained by the local people.

Through these visits, some kind of regular interaction between the development agents and the people was maintained. The formation of village development committees to look after the maintenance and repair of different projects helped keep alive this relationship.

However, the role of the penghulu, community leader and village headmen was also important. It was through these individuals that dialogue between the people and the development agents were organized.

Almost all the village headmen in Ba Kelalan were quite influential and respected in their respective villages. From conversations with various government officers in Lawas, the writer's impression of their relationship with the village headmen was friendly and one of respect. Although the penghulu, community leader had some image problem in the community, this was mainly exaggerated by a few lun mebala individuals who wanted to see a much faster rate of progress in the community. However, because he spoke some English and was young (in his early forties), he was congenially well-liked by government officers. This congeniality of relationship made it a lot easier for the flow of information between the development agency and the community.

Where the people expressed their needs and desires for certain development projects, the development agency, in responding to those needs and desires, seemed to have achieved considerable success in its rural development program. This was evident in projects like the landing strip, cooperative society, and water supply. However, projects that were determined on the perceptions of the development agency had the least success. Examples of such projects were some of the agricultural schemes, which used handouts to motivate peoples' participation.

The success of projects such as the landing strip, cooperative society, water supply, etc., was due to the simple reason that people saw the benefit of these projects for their community. Buffaloes and cattle were the main means by which people earned cash income in Ba Kelalan, and consequently, the animal husbandry scheme had had considerable success. The Agricultural Department had also considerable success in introducing vegetable gardening, fish ponds, new breeds of poultry and pigs. In each of these projects farmers were able to see the benefit they would get from them.

However, two of the development projects which, in the opinion of the writer, met with failure, were the Assistance to Padi Planing Scheme (A.P.P.S.) and the sugar cane project. The A.P.P.S. was designed to encourage shifting cultivators to adopt sedentary wet padi cultivation, and to help those who have just adopted this mode of cultivation. Because the government was serious in cutting down the number of shifting cultivators, there was plenty of A.P.P.S. fund available to farmers who needed them. However, farmers in Ba Kelalan applied for them not because they needed them, but simply because the funds were available and were easy to get.

Because Ba Kelalan had already an irrigation system which had provided them surplus rice harvest every year, the A.P.P.S. taught them nothing new. All the agricultural agents did was to distribute free tools and materials to farmers, and made their routine inspection of the padi fields. In some ways, the A.P.P.S. destroyed the self-reliance of some farmers, and their work ethic.

Since the establishment of the cooperative store at Ba Kelalan, rice had become partly a cash crop for the inhabitants. For this reason it was obvious that Ba Kelalan should increase its rice production. The Agriculture Department was sincere in trying to help farmers towards that direction - increased rice production. However, such help and assistance could have been more beneficial to farmers had the department made an attempt to understand the community and its agricultural system, and then planned a much more suitable program. Instead of doing that, the department simply introduced a scheme (designed outside the community) which had no particular relevance to the agricultural system of the community. The indigenous irrigation system could have been improved, but the department simply did not take enough interest to study the local agricultural problems and needs.

From the history of the sugar cane scheme, it was evident that it was somewhat forced on the people. It was supposed to have been implemented in 1976, and 45 acres were made available for Ba Kelalan. However, it was only in 1980 that 27 acres were cultivated.

The objectives of the scheme were good: to teach the inhabitants to produce their own sugar, and to make them less dependent on manufactured sugar. People did not perceive the utility of the scheme the way development agents saw it. People saw that it would take much of their time away from their other work, and they did not see how an acre of sugar cane plantation could benefit a farmer economically.

In the two cases cited - the A.P.P.S. and the sugar cane scheme - it was not quite clear as to whether the scheme rules were rigid or that development agents were inflexible with the scheme rules (running things strictly "according to the book" with no flexibility). In these two schemes some flexibility could have been exercised to make them more adaptable and meaningful to the community.

As indicated in this study, the Lun Bawang of upland Borneo are positive in their belief about development and the role of the government in that process. Because of this attitude, government development agents have found it easy to mix and interact with them. This proved to be very useful in project implementation.

However, because the Lun Bawang are so receptive to new ideas and innovations introduced from outside, it was taken for granted that they would accept anything that is introduced to them. This is a misconception of the Lun Bawang. The Lun Bawang adopt and introduce new ideas to their communities, if these new ideas fit the local conditions. However, they would abandon or reject those that do not fit the local conditions, even if these new ideas are considered by development agents as good for them.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The main objective of this thesis was to examine essential characteristics of the rural community of Ba Kelalan and the Malaysian government bureaucracy, and the interaction patterns between them in the process of development. In that examination, an assessment was made to see if the interaction patterns between them were conducive to cooperative efforts in the process of development.

The important sociological factors which enhanced the mobilization of the people of Ba Kelalan towards the development of their community are the cooperation of the local people, their receptiveness towards new ideas. and the presence of a system of effective leadership in the community.

The remarkable cooperation of the people was enhanced by the integration, solidarity, traditionalism, and homogeneity of the local population. The innovativeness of the people was enhanced by their positive attitude towards new ideas and agents of change, their adaptibility to change and development, and the extension of their social relationships with other groups in more cosmopolitan areas. With the presence of a system of effective leadership in the community, it was easy to mobilize people to work towards their own development. This situation also made it easy for development agents to interact with the local people in the development process.

Structurally and in terms of manpower and other resources, the Malaysian development bureaucracy, at the district level, was quite capable of reaching rural people with its development program. This was evident in the facilities it provided, and the routine visits of development agents to rural communities to implement projects or to discuss development matters with rural people. The establishment of development committees at various levels of administration, and the participation of various departments in these committees, made it easy to plan a uniform program for rural communities and to coordinate development activities. However, the absence of rural people in the planning and decision-making process of development program made the relevance of some of these projects to rural communities questionable.

The study was able to identify some characteristics of the community of Ba Kelalan and the government development agency which have had some positive impacts on the interaction between the two social systems, which subsequently led to successful implementation of some of the development projects. From the mini-case study of the six development projects, it was evident that the local people were in some ways involved in the planning of development projects, and that they participated quite actively in the implementation of these projects. It was also evident that some of the development agents actually lived and worked with the local people until the completion of implementation of these projects. These development agents also made follow-up visits to these projects.

The study was also able to identify some of the reasons as to why some projects were a success while others were not so successful. Briefly stated, the "bottom-up" development projects (or projects requested by the people, and based on their real needs) have had more success of implementation than the "top-down" development projects (or projects based on the perception of the development agency). The obvious reason for the successful implementation of the "bottom-up" development projects was that people were aware of the benefit and advantage of these projects to them. The "top-down" development projects did not seem to have fitted well in the social conditions of the community. Consequently, they had the least success of implementation.

Recommendations

This thesis has two recommendations to make. First, it recommends that all development project requests or proposals should be given comprehensive feasibility study before they are approved for implementation. There are two main reasons why feasibility study should be carried out on project requests or proposals. First, it can serve the purpose of determining the appropriateness of development projects for the community. Second, it can also serve the purpose of ensuring that people will participate in the implementation of the projects once they are approved for implementation.

Specifically, it recommends that the appropriateness of agricultural hand-out projects to rural farmers should be given comprehensive feasibility study before they are given to farmers. The agricultural schemes, designed by the Agriculture Department, have been perceived as suitable for all rural farmers in Sarawak. This generalization is challenged here because most of the agricultural schemes in Ba Kelalan seemed not to have been well integrated into the local farming system. The reason for this is that different communities have their own unique characteristics and there is no one universal development program or project that fits all communities.

Therefore, in order to get the participation of the people in the development process, it is essential that development projects fulfill the needs of the people. It is also essential that the projects fit well in the socio-economic conditions of the community. A development project which does not fulfill the needs of the people or which does not fit well in their socio-economic conditions cannot become a development project of the people. At best, it will remain the development project of the development agency.

Second, it recommends that local initiatives and self-reliance should continue to be encouraged among the people of Ba Kelalan. As indicated in the thesis, the rapid development progress in Ba Kelalan came about largely through local initiatives and self-reliance of the people. One way to ensure the continuity of local initiatives and self-reliance of the people is to discourage dependency of the people on hand-out development projects.

The lesson that can be learned from Ba Kelalan is that it is possible for rural communities to develop themselves on their own initiatives and using their own talents and skills. This does not mean that other rural communities in Sarawak should follow the particular patterns of achieving development goals the way the people of Ba Kelalan have done. However, it is suggested that whenever local talents and initiatives are available in the community, these talents and initiatives should be utilized in the development process instead of using other models from outside.

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Appendix I

Types of Agricultural Projects Given by the Government to the People of Ba Kelalan

1. Assistance to Padi Planters' Scheme
2. Animal Husbandry Scheme
3. Fishery Scheme (Fish Ponds)
4. Agricultural Diversification Scheme
    - Perennials
        - Coffee
        - Fruit Trees (see list A)
    - Annual
        - Maize
        - Soya Bean
        - Groundnut
5. Sugar Cane Scheme
6. Vegetable Garden (see list B)

List A: List of fruit trees given by the Agriculture Department to farmers in Ba Kelalan. (Virtually all these fruit trees were introduced by local farmers to Ba Kelalan, but the Agriculture Department are now giving them better and improved varieties of these fruit trees)

1. Papaya
2. Pineapple
3. Pomelo
4. Rambutan
5. Langsat
6. Mata Kuching

7. Embang
8. Sunkist Orange
9. Apple

List B: List of vegetables given by the Agriculture Department to farmers in Ba Kelalan. (Some of these vegetables were introduced by local farmers to Ba Kelalan, but the Agriculture Department is now giving them better varieties)

1. Long Bean
2. Cucumber
3. Bitter Cucumber
4. Pek Chai
5. Kang Kong
6. Changkok Manis
7. Brinjal
8. Lobak
9. Kana Chai
10. Chai Sim
11. Green Pepper
12. Tomato
13. Chinese Cabbage
14. Lettuce

Appendix II

Types of Minor Rural Development Projects (Infrastructure) Given by the Government to the People of Ba Kelalan

1. Airstrip
2. Community Hall
3. Water Supply
4. Small Bridges
5. Footpaths
6. Improvement of Salt Springs (fencing of Salt Spring areas and building of shelters where people could stay when they come to the Salt Springs to make salt)
7. Soccer Fields
8. Badminton and Volleyball Court